HISTORY

AND

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

OF

NEW FRANCE

BY

THE REV. P. F. X. DE CHARLEVOIX, S.J.

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PETER FRANCIS XAVIER de CHARLEVOIX, S.J.
Born Oct. 29, 1682; Died Feb. 1, 1761

HISTORY

AND

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

OF

NEW FRANCE

BY

THE REV. P.F.X. DE CHARLEVOIX, S.J.

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES, BY JOHN GILMARY SHEA

IN SIX VOLUMES

VOLUME I

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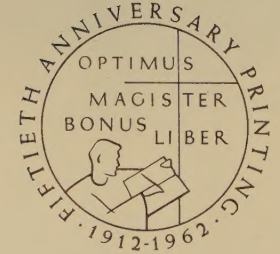

NEW YORK:

JOHN GILMARY SHEA

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SHEA'S CHARLEVOIX.

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PIERRE FRANCOIS-XAVIER de CHARLEVOIX, S.J.

A brief biography of the author and the translator by
John Francis Bannon, S.J.
Saint Louis University
1962

Pierre François-Xavier de Charlevoix, one of the more prolific Jesuit historians of the eighteenth century, was a native of San Quentin, in the old French province of Picardy. Born in 1682, he was descended from a line of the lesser nobility which had long been prominent in local governmental affairs. His father held the post of deputy attorney general, and earlier ancestors had served in like positions of great trust and high responsibility.

Young Charlevoix, after early schooling in his native San Quentin, decided to become a Jesuit. On September 15, 1698, he entered the Jesuit novitiate at Paris and began the long years of formation and study which ultimately led to his priestly ordination in 1713. The first four Jesuit years were devoted to ascetic practice and humanistic studies. From 1702-1705 he moved over to the renowned Jesuit establishment in the capital, Collège Louis-le-Grand, and there followed the course of philosophy.

Then came the period of "regency," those years when the young Jesuit is first given a chance to perform in the classroom. Charlevoix's assignment was to the Jesuit college in far off Quebec, at that point nearing its seventy-fifth anniversary. He spent four years there (1705-1709), gaining his first acquaintance with that New France of which he would later write so ably. One might be justified in surmising that during these years the young Charlevoix may have developed a firsthand acquaintance with a number of the works cited among the impressive list of authorities for his

history. Quite certainly he came to know many of the men who were creating a chapter of that history in the early years of the eighteenth century, or men like Archbishop Laval (living in retirement at his seminary), and some of the Black Robe veterans who had been very much a part of that history in previous decades. Charlevoix's Quebec years as a young teacher were exciting years, too, for New France, since the mother country was involved in the second of the series of contests with England—Queen Anne's War or the War of the Spanish Succession.

In late 1709 Charlevoix was back at Collège Louis-le-Grand in Paris, this time to complete his seminary studies. After ordination in 1713, and the final year of "tertianship" or second novitiate, he returned to his alma mater as professor of the humanities. Among his pupils was one Jean Baptiste Arouet de Voltaire, who later wrote that "the Reverend Father Charlevoix, who was my prefect, was a bit on the talkative side." Voltaire does not enlighten us further, but one can wonder if stories of New France may not well have been among the topics of the professor's loquacity. Of course, Japan could have been the topic equally well, for Charlevoix was then embarking on his ambitious "Project of a Series of Histories of the New World." The first of this series, *Histoire de l'établissement, des progrès et de la décadence du Christianisme dans l'empire du Japon,* three volumes, appeared in 1715.

Before Charlevoix could go on with the other parts of his project, his teaching and writing career was temporarily interrupted by a state assignment. In 1719 he received a royal commission to research the historic boundaries of Acadia, only then recently lost to England by the terms of the famous treaty of Utrecht. This commission led to another and more important one in the following year. Charlevoix's intendant friend of shipboard days some fifteen years before, Baudot, now a ranking official in the colonial office, proposed him as the ideal man for a delicate task in America.

The trans-Canada route to the Western Ocean had again become a matter of great interest. Champlain and his *jeunes*, a full century before, had started that quest. *Coureurs-de-bois* and Black Robes of a later day had probed farther westward, but without success. Now with the English in control of the Hudson Bay country, as a result of the treaty of Utrecht, there was danger that they might find the long-sought passage first. Governor Vaudreuil urged action before it was too late. His proposal received a rather warm reception, until a budget estimate frightened the regent, Philippe d'Orléans. Fifty thousand francs was a sizable sum to invest in an enterprise which might not have profitable results. The Crown was in a period of hard times, following the very expensive wars and the equally extravagant tastes of Louis XIV. Better, it was decided, a more economical plan which might test the possible success of a later major venture. Baudot suggested his alternative scheme: send out a priest who might pick up information about the route to the Western Sea; this priest could be, supposedly at least, on a tour of inspection of the missions stretching from the Saint Lawrence out to the Great Lakes and on down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. His presence would hardly arouse suspicion nor would it build fantastic hopes, either at home or in the colony. Baudot next proposed that this priest should be Père Charlevoix, who already knew the colony.

The young Jesuit priest was, accordingly, dispatched to America on this royal business. Vaudreuil, still governor, and Michel Bégon, the intendant, were ordered to furnish him with two canoes, eight companions, ample merchandise, and whatever else might be needed for his mission. Charlevoix, in a letter to the Comte de Morville, thus describes his assignment:

> About three years ago several persons presented memoirs on the Western Sea to His Royal Highness the Comte de Toulouse, who considered sending

> an officer and fifty men to Canada to make the discovery. However, after preparations had been made, His Royal Highness Monsieur the Duc d'Orlèans felt that this voyage would entail too great expense, especially since its success was doubtful. Accordingly, His Highness resolved to send a person to the posts of Canada and Louisiana who might inquire about the Western Sea, but still give the impression of being no more than a traveler or missionary. I have been chosen for this task. . . .

Charlevoix left France in June 1720, and arrived in Quebec late in September. The record of his journey through New France, into the Illinois Country, and on down to Louisiana is contained in his *Journal d'un voyage fait par l'ordre du Roi dans l'Amérique Septentrionale,* published in the third volume of his *Histoire de la Nouvelle France,* but not included in the Shea translation here reprinted. The *Journal,* however, has appeared in several English versions, one as recently as 1921.

Charlevoix returned to France in 1722 and made his report. In the next year he was assigned to the staff of the Jesuit monthly, the *Mémoires de Trévoux.* In this post he had time to turn to his historical and literary interests. First he had to pay a debt. Sailing back to France from America, he had been shipwrecked off the Florida coast. In this extremity he had sought the heavenly intercession of one of the saintly pioneers of New France, Mère Marie de l'Incarnation. In 1725 he published the story of the life of this remarkable Ursuline nun—*La vie de la Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, Institutrice et première Supérieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle France.*

During the next years, along with his work as book-review editor of the *Mémoires de Trévoux,* he added

the next of his histories—the exciting story of the famous island of Española in his *Histoire de l'Isle Espagnol ou de Saint-Domingue,* which appeared in two volumes in 1730-1731.

In the early 1740's Charlevoix was named to the post of procurator (or home agent and promoter) of the Jesuit missions of New France and Louisiana. In 1744 his three-volume study of the history of New France was ready.

He now had three segments of his proposed "History of the New World." One more was to be finished before his death. In 1756 came his *Histoire du Paraguay,* also in three volumes. This was his last. Five years later, on the first of February 1761, he died at the famous Collège Henri-Quatre, at La Flèche. Not without much justice has a later Jesuit historian (Rochemonteix) called him the "Herodotus of the missions of the Company of Jesus."

The *Histoire et déscription générale de la Nouvelle France,* here reprinted in the Shea translation, is one of the better of Charlevoix's efforts and is very definitely an important early piece in the historiography of French enterprise in North America.* In the first place, he was well equipped to put this story together. He was personally acquainted with the country and had that proverbial "feel" for his story. Next, his long list of authorities read and consulted stands as a fine commentary on his sense of scholarship. One may disagree with the frank appraisals he made of some of his predecessors, but one has to admire the broad knowledge on which his remarks were based. Again, Charlevoix the historian had the opportunity to gather much oral testimony, a source which, when used ju-

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* *Credit should be given for assembling much of the material briefed on this and the following pages to Father James Joseph Schlafly, archivist of the Diocese of Kansas City, Missouri. Some years back, under the present writer's direction, Father Schlafly wrote a master's thesis at Saint Louis University on Charlevoix as an historian.*

diciously, can add to the record precious bits that might otherwise be irretrievably lost to future generations. And, certainly not to be overlooked, is the fact that Charlevoix had access to the official archives of France; from these he borrowed generously. The attention of the reader is directed to the final paragraph of his "List of Authors": "There would, however, have been *lacunae* in my history, had I not found the wherewith to fill them in the original documents preserved in the Dépôt de la Marine. . . ." Charlevoix in still another way shows himself a fine historian by modern standards. His volumes are most generously equipped with excellent maps, prepared under his direction by M. Bellin, ingénieur de la Marine, from the best sources then available.

Later historians have long since recognized the worth of Charlevoix's works. Some comments may prove interesting. In 1845, François Xavier Garneau wrote in the introduction of his *Histoire du Canada:*

> Among the authors of whom I am going to speak, and who are prior to the conquest, we must not overlook the celebrated Jesuit Charlevoix. The broad plan of his book on New France, the general exactness of the facts which he sets forth, his simple and natural style have assured him for a long time past a distinguished place in America; and Canada even today claims him as the first of her historians. . . .

Jean Baptiste Antoine Ferland, in his *Cours d'histoire du Canada,* considers Charlevoix's history as a "valuable work." Abbé Etienne Michel Faillon, the Sulpician, writing also in the 1860's, was less enthusiastic: "Father Charlevoix . . . has not added any more than the others to the history of the colony." Charles C. Smith, contributing to Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America* (1884), commented:

> Among the later French writers the pre-eminence belongs to the Jesuit father, Pierre François-Xavier Charlevoix, who had access to contemporaneous materials, of which he made careful use; his statements have great weight, though he wrote many years after the events he describes. . . .

The Canadian George Stewart, Jr., in the same collaborative history, writes:

> . . . and the first place in time and importance among the contributions to the general history of Canada, of a date earlier than the present century, must be given to this Jesuit's *Histoire et Déscription générale de la Nouvelle France*. . . .

Although Parkman quibbles with Charlevoix on certain points in several of his studies, still, when he reviews the Shea translation, he observes:

> The writer [Charlevoix] was a scholar, a traveler, and a man of ability, whose study of his subject was aided by a personal knowledge of it, and who has produced a book which is not only readable, but which tried by the standard of his time, is neither unphilosophic nor inaccurate. . . .

And in another place:

> Of all the early histories of French America it is incomparably the best; indeed, it is the only one fairly entitled to be called a history. . . . Charlevoix in the original is a work of high value; in Mr. Shea's translation, "with notes," its value is doubled.

Henry Arthur Scott, the Canadian historiographer, in his discussion of Charlevoix ends on this note: "One thing, at least, is certain, which no one can unreasonably dispute, that in the formation and development of our history the place proper for him is: THE FIRST." And like evaluations could be multiplied. This, then, is the work which Loyola University Press brings back to life as the first in its historical reprint series.

The original French edition was published in 1744 at Paris in three quarto volumes. In that same year the work also appeared in six duodecimo volumes. Besides the *Histoire,* the original edition contained the *Journal historique,* along with the nineteen-page introduction entitled "Les Remarques de M. Bellin sur les cartes et les plans." The *Journal* takes up the whole of Volume III. The English very quickly seized on this work and translated it into several editions as early as the 1760's. The preface to the English edition of 1763 gives a clue to this unusual interest across the Channel:

> It is beyond doubt the most perfect account of Canada that is extant. And it is said that it was from this work in particular that our ministers formed their notions of the importance of Canada and of the vast advantages to be derived therefrom.

The latest and best edition of the *Journal* was that issued in 1921 by the very eminent American scholar, Louise Phelps Kellogg. But like so many fine books, it quickly went out of print and is now rarely found outside of good libraries.

The *Histoire* in its entirety had to wait much longer for a translator. John Gilmary Shea eventually undertook the work, and his six-volume translation (here reprinted) was published between 1866 and 1872. In 1900 this Shea translation was reissued by Noah Farnham Morrison, at New York, and again in six volumes. This latter also carried "a new memoir and bibliography of the translator." But both of these Charlevoix-

Shea editions have become rare books, seldom seen outside of fine collections.

. . . . .

The reader who may be only vaguely familiar with the translator deserves a short note of information on John Gilmary Shea, to whom he must be grateful not only for the English text, but also for the very many most helpful notes, clarifications, and corrections scattered through Charlevoix's pages.

John Gilmary Shea, who is often called the "Father of American Church History," was a New Yorker. He was born on July 22, 1824. Actually, he was baptized John Dawson, but later adopted the distinctive middle name, which means "Mary's servant." After his early schooling he turned for a few years to a business career which required him to gain a facile command of Spanish. He put this skill to excellent use in his later scholar years. The fascination of the business world quickly wore thin and Shea turned to the study of law. He passed the New York Bar in 1846. Even here he was not satisfied. In 1848, feeling that, perhaps, the religious life was his calling, he applied to the Society of Jesus and was accepted as a novice. In 1850, after making his religious profession as a Jesuit, Shea was sent to the Jesuit House of Studies in Montreal to follow the course of philosophy. Here his path crossed with that of Father Felix Martin, who at the time was assembling an extensive archive on the Jesuit enterprise in colonial Canada. Shea's historical interest, already in embryo, grew strong and was encouraged by the Father Archivist. During this period young Shea also made the acquaintance of Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, historian of the State of New York, laying thereupon the basis of a warm friendship. In 1852 Shea, for reasons of his own never fully disclosed, decided that the religious life was not his vocation and withdrew from the Jesuit order. The parting was wholly amicable; in later life Shea never lost his love for the Society and often would be taxed with too

favorable a view of, and indeed, even a marked prejudice toward the Jesuits in history.

Back to the life of the layman, Shea now devoted himself to historical research and writing. During the next forty years (he died in 1892) history was his life. The number of his publications runs close to 250 pieces—major works, translations, articles, textbooks, all bearing in one way or another on the colonial story of North America and, very particularly, on the history of the Catholic Church on this continent. He was one of the outstanding Catholic scholars of his time, recognized and highly respected within the historical craft generally. The breadth of his knowledge of colonial America will be evident in the meaningful notes he has added to this translation of the *Histoire de la Nouvelle France.*

John Francis Bannon, s.j.
Saint Louis University

January 1962

TO

HIS SERENE HIGHNESS,

THE DUKE OF PENTHIEVRE.

MY LORD:

Your Serene Highness has an hereditary right to the homage of New France, a history of which I presume to dedicate to you. It is due, my Lord, to the Prince who gave you birth, for the goodness and marks of esteem with which he honored this colony during the whole period of his voluntary assumption of that branch of the ministry on which the colony depends, and which he discharged to the close of his life. He knew, and admitted, that by the valor, fidelity, spirit, and politeness of its inhabitants, it has always well maintained its first-born rights; and to whom, my Lord, shall the colony, loaded with his favors, now testify its gratitude through its historian's pen, and protest its perfect devotedness, if not to the heir of the virtues, even more than of the titles of its illustrious Protector, to him, who alone has been able to console us for our loss by reviving that prince entirely in his own person?

This perfect resemblance to an accomplished father can surprise those only, my Lord, who could not witness the care of that prince to inspire you early in life with all his sentiments, and the devotion of a princess, who would intrust your education to no other hands, so as to develop and cultivate the great qualities that both have transmitted to you with their blood. Hence, in fact, that basis of piety and religion, which you have

so deeply felt to be the first duty and main support of a Christian prince; that affability, that inclination to do good to all, to lavish your treasures with a profusion that knows no limit but the wants of the needy; that spirit of equity, that love of order, virtues of which the Count de Toulouse was far more jealous than of his rank and all his greatness; that attachment to the royal person, that noble and disinterested zeal in his service; that cool and well-considered valor in the midst of the battle, of which you have just given such shining proof; in a word, all that was admired in the Prince whom we have so regretted, all that endeared him to true Frenchmen, all that they find revived in you.

My good fortune, my Lord, in seeing so noble a character increase and develop in you from your earliest childhood, and the cordial welcome with which you have ever favored my labors, encourage me to-day to offer you, what the Count de Toulouse had kindly accepted for himself, this fruit of my vigils, and of the voyage which I made under his auspices. Could I, indeed, find a more favorable opportunity to express the sincere and respectful devotion, with which I am,

My Lord,

Your Serene Highness's

Most humble and obed't servant,

P. FR. X. de CHARLEVOIX,

of the Society of Jesus.

Paris, October 15, 1743.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

The history of New France, by Father Charlevoix, is too well known and too highly esteemed both for style and matter to need any explanation of its scope or object here. The praise of Gibbon will alone assure the English reader that as an historical work it is of no inconsiderable merit.

It is, however, strange that while nearly all the other works of the French historian can be found in our language, no attempt has hitherto been made to present to English readers the history of a colony which passed under English rule; and that even among American scholars no one has yet undertaken a version of this well-written history of New France. Yet that French colonial empire embraced no small portion of our own republic, and has left ineffaceable marks of the Gallic rule in the names imposed on natural features, and even on settlements that have risen to the dimension of cities.

In undertaking to supply the want, I purposed to myself to make it a work of enduring and positive value. To a translation made with care and study I designed to add not mere occasional notes, but exact references to authorities for every statement in the text, without further remark where the authorities sustained the statement, but explaining and collating the evidence on points of disagreement. The addition of some biographical information, ethnological and other notes, as well as the supplying of obvious omissions, seemed necessary.

This has proved a task much greater than, from my familiarity with the subject, I had anticipated, but I trust that it is not labor spent in vain.

Of the preliminary matter little need be said. In this I refrained from notes. The chronological tables would have led to too diffuse remark. The List of Authors stands as Charlevoix's expression of opinion. In this I corrected the titles of the works in most cases from the works themselves, so as to make it useful for reference.

In translating a work of such frequent reference, I have, while making it as idiomatic as possible, adhered to the author's style and manner. For the same reason, I have retained his orthography of proper names, giving, however, where a name is incorrect, the proper form in my notes.

It is thus, for the use of the scholar, Charlevoix absolutely.

All the maps of the original edition are here reproduced, and portraits added to enhance the interest if not the value of the work.

Resuming here the study of many years, I could scarcely enumerate all the friends whose suggestions and aid have enabled me to present the information here gathered. Yet I may mention the late Abbé Ferland, the Abbés Laverdiere and Taschereau, in Canada; the late Henry de Courcy and Rev. Felix Martin, in France; Doctor E. B. O'Callaghan, Hon. Henry C. Murphy, and Francis Parkman, in this country.

JOHN GILMARY SHEA.

New York, May 1, 1866.

PROJECT

OF A

SERIES OF HISTORIES OF THE NEW WORLD.

Although America alone is generally understood by the term New World, I here give it a wider extent—including all countries unknown to Europeans before the fourteenth century. The following is a brief plan of this series of histories, which I have not thought fitting to lay before the public till I was able to announce the first part as already in press.

It should be observed, in the first place, that most of the provinces of what is called the New World have no connection with each other, and that there are few whose history naturally blends. What relation, for example, is there between New England and New Spain? It is scarcely possible to write the history of a single European kingdom, without touching on that of all the others; yet no one would think of writing a general history of all that part of the Old World: how much more unreasonable would it be to seek to make a connected work on all America! We must then separate the parts that have no dependence on each other; unite those which cannot be treated separately without falling into repetitions or mutilating them, such as are New France and Louisiana, and give the public all these histories successively. Now, to secure a uniformity, so as to form a whole, connected by the method observed, I have adopted this plan.

At the head of each history I will give an exact catalogue of all the authors who have written on the same subject, were it only incidentally, provided what they say deserves attention. I will at the same time note the assistance which I have derived from each, and my reasons for following or disregarding them; which I shall endeavor so to do, that no prejudice and interest but that of truth shall guide my pen.

To this first preliminary I shall add a second, which is a general notice of the country. In this I shall introduce all that concerns the character of the nation, its origin, government, religion, good or bad qualities, the climate and nature of the country, its chief wealth; but I

will defer to the end of the work all notices of natural history, which require to be treated in detail, and all articles that could not enter into the body of the history, and which may nevertheless afford interesting knowledge: such as what regards commerce, manufactures, plants and animals, medicine, &c.

As for the body of the history itself, I shall observe the same order that I followed in writing the history of the island of St. Domingo, with which apparently the public was not displeased. I shall omit nothing essential, but I shall avoid useless details. I know that the nature of the work requires what other histories would not suffer. Things quite uninteresting in themselves, please when they come from a remote country, yet I am not blind to the necessity of selection and limit.

In this manner a complete knowledge may be acquired of each region of the New World;—of its condition when first discovered; what can be known of the history of its first inhabitants; the important transactions since the entrance of Europeans; of its most curious matters;—and the reader will be able to form a judgment on those who have previously written about it. Thus the history of the New World will be no longer in danger of perishing by its own abundance. What is really worthy of a reader's curiosity will not be smothered in things, to say the best, utterly useless, nor embarrassed in contradictions; and it will be easy to make a just discernment between the authors of relations and travels, who alone deserve the discredit which they have drawn on all, and those writers, who, by their sincerity and efforts to acquire information, are entitled to be regarded as safe guides, and witnesses beyond reproach.

In fine, it was time to render this service to the public, while we have still certain rules of criticism to distinguish lawful and authentic documents from the prodigious number of writings thrown off at hazard, most of which so disfigure truth as to render her no longer distinguishable, and which would undoubtedly destroy all traces of it, if the inundation were allowed to go unchecked. Never, in fact, has the *cacoethes scribendi* gone further than in this matter. Who can number the relations, memoirs, voyages, particular and general histories, produced by curiosity to see and eagerness to tell what has been seen, or what men would fain pass off as seen? But a ray of light is still left, by the help of which we can disentangle truth from this monstrous heap of fables, which have almost eclipsed it; and most of which, although supported by pleasing style, and the pernicious seasoning of satire, libertinage, and

irreligion, are left in the hands of all classes of people, to the great prejudice of morals and piety, only because nothing better is brought forward to replace them.

If in the review which I shall make of all the works relating to my subject any escape me, it will be, ordinarily, because it was impossible or inexpedient to draw them from the obscurity in which they are buried ; and my silence will be the only criticism they merit. Should I, however, omit any that deserve not to be forgotten, I will repair the fault as soon as I am notified. Thus, if these latter ages are justly reproached with an unbridled license in writing, better fitted to establish in the mass of mankind an utter Pyrrhonism in history, than to instruct those given to such reading, and better fitted to degrade the heroes who have filled the New World with the fame of their exploits and their virtues, by the fables introduced, than to give them the immortality so justly their due ; a remedy to such disorder will be found in this work, and those who come after us will be better enabled, than men have been till now, to render justice to all.

I may perhaps be asked, if I flatter myself that I shall be able to carry out so vast a design, for which the longest life would seem too short. To this I reply, that the nature of this work does not require that all the constituent parts be of the same hand ; that it will not suffer from diversity of style ; that this very diversity has its attractions, and all that is required is, that the same plan should be followed—a thing easily done. The same nearly may be said of this enterprise as of the discovery of America. The worst was done when it was once begun. There is then every reason to believe that it will be continued after me, and that if I have the advantage of suggesting the idea, those who succeed me will have the glory of perfecting it.

It only remains to warn the public as to the expense inevitable in the execution of such a project, that the price of the volumes may not shock them. In the first place, neither maps nor plans should be spared, and I am persuaded that this point will find no gainsayers. Nothing is more necessary in history, of which geography and chronology are the two eyes—especially in treating of countries not sufficiently known. In the second place, all the curious things furnished by natural history, will be engraved, but only when we are sure of accurate models. In fine, the different styles of costumes and arms among so many different nations, their religious ceremonies and customs, furnish much that readers will be pleased to see drawn to the life; but all shall be retrenched that would merely add useless expense to the volumes.

PREFACE.

This is the third work which I present to the public to fulfil my promised course of Histories of the New World, on the plan announced by me. This project is repeated here, as it should be kept more in view in regard to New France than to the subsequent histories, in order to judge them properly. It should especially be remembered, that it is my design to give, as to each part of the New World, all that I find curious, useful, and interesting ; consequently to omit nothing that can be read with pleasure in the histories, relations, and journals treating on it, after sifting the true from the false.

It may be objected that a general history does not permit details, and that in it many things are deemed minutiæ which are tolerated in a relation. To this I reply that there are two distinct kinds of general history. That of a great empire, or celebrated republic, must be written in a style consonant with the majesty of the subject; nothing should enter to divert that attention which should centre entirely on the great events presented; but there are some, not striking in themselves, and which nevertheless contain a series of objects capable of interesting and instructing the reader. We regard with pleasure the "Battles of Alexander," by Le Brun; do we feel less in gazing on a landscape by Poussin? A bold and daring pencil, guided by a brilliant imagination, strikes us in the one; nature in her beauty, simple grace, great variety, and simplicity, a wise distribution, harmony amid all parts, the arrangement and proportions, are the merit of the others. Moreover, it is not always great revolutions and the most surprising events which give the historian the most judicious reflections and most singular characters. Has not comedy, which always draws its plots, and generally its actors, from private life, attained as great perfection, and been as greatly relished, under the pen of a Moliere, as tragedy, admitting only heroic actions and personages, has under the great Corneille and Racine?

There is a conventional taste for literary works, which may not be at first apparent, but to which men sooner or later return. The republic of

letters has never perhaps had more censors than now; but as many consult less the light of their intellect, than prejudice or some other foreign motive, the most docile and least prejudiced authors would often be embarrassed, were they disposed to regard all the criticisms passed on their works. I may be allowed to cite my own example.

When the History of St. Domingo appeared, one censor found the whole first volume useless; others wished that I had omitted all reference to the freebooters and buccaneers; but what kind of history of St. Domingo would it be, that described neither the island, nor its discovery, nor the Spanish settlements, nor the revolutions which that people experienced there, nor how this first of their colonies in the New World became the mother of all the others, nor what reduced it to the pitiable state in which we behold it now; nor, in fine, by whom and how the French planted there the finest establishment which they have ever had in America? Had I listened to these different criticisms, would I not be like the man in the fable, whose two wives plucked every hair from his head?

On the other hand, I am aware that others find fault with my conciseness as to certain facts, where I confined myself to what seemed to belong to my subject; they would have wished me, for example, to have followed the career of Cortez to the close of the conquest of Mexico, as though his actions in St. Domingo would justify or require my giving the whole life of that Conquistador. On the same principle, I should have had to follow Almagro and Pizarro, Valdivia and all others who had ever been settlers in St. Domingo, through all their expeditions, and the history of St. Domingo would swell into one of almost the whole Spanish empire in America.

I experienced the same clashing criticisms on the History of Japan. The author of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, estimable for his learning, imagined that I wished to depreciate Kœmpfer's work. Yet I have every reason to believe that this able writer had not, at the time, read either the German Doctor's work or mine, of which he would perhaps have spoken more favorably, had he not been in a bad humor. I esteem Kœmpfer's work, and I cannot be reproached with failing to do him justice; but his two volumes contain only three or four historical facts, and these related on tradition; and I think that I have shown them to be almost all disfigured in the main circumstances. It is only necessary to see what is said of Peter Nuits, in Formosa: Kœmpfer makes it a romance, in which not even probability is retained. In the *Voyages au Nord*, which I followed, it is a curious circumstantial event, connecting

perfectly with the history, and containing nothing incredible. Excepting these anecdotes, which are touched upon only incidentally, the work of the learned physician contains but a description of the kingdom of Siam, the abridged chronology of the Japanese empire, a very full description of that empire, its government, administration, religion, geography, the commerce of the Dutch, and the journals of his two journeys from Nangasaki to Jeddo, in the train of the Dutch President; journals which show a traveller careful to note every thing worth his while, and which enter appositely in the memoirs of a man who travels simply for his own instruction. Of all this I availed myself, to write an exact description of Japan, giving full credit to Kœmpfer for all that he had published in that work, or in his *Amœnitates Exoticæ*, on the natural history of those islands. But for history I gained nothing, and I should surely have found it difficult to derive enough from it to fill a printed leaf, even had the matter been exact.

Those who found my preliminary book useless and prolix, have simply failed to read more than half my title, which promises a general description and history. Now, to reduce to less than half a duodecimo volume, including the matter added at the close of the work, what occupies three-fourths of Kœmpfer's two folios, is surely not being too diffuse.

To some I seemed to give too much space to religious affairs; others, on the contrary, who deemed that part of my work the most precious chapter of the Ecclesiastical History of these later ages, have not approved my condensation. My endeavor was to strike a medium between these two extremes, and were the task to be begun anew, I should take it again. As for those who aver that I treated of civil and political history, only incidentally, and so as to connect the facts, it is evident that they would have spoken differently had they read my book consecutively, or simply perused the three extracts given in our "Mémoires de Trévoux," for June, August, and October, 1737. In one word, to meet these different criticisms, I can only refer the authors of them to the plan proposed by me when I undertook a course of histories of the New World. This plan has not to my knowledge been disapproved. If I have followed it exactly, I am in order; if I have not, or do not in future, I shall be pleased to know where, and correct it at once.

There still remains a wide field for criticism, in the manner of writing, in the reflections, the characters, the order and distribution of facts, and in all this censure will not surprise me. Obliged for many years to devote a part of my time to giving the public an account of the writings of

others, and using, I venture to say, with moderation and impartiality, but still with liberty, the right given, or rather the duty imposed by my position as reviewer, I ask no more than to be treated by my fellow critics as I treat those of whom I speak my mind: *Et refellere sine pertinacia et refelli sine iracundiâ parati sumus.* (Cicero, 2 Tusc., n. 5.)

It would doubtless have been more easy and agreeable for me to take, if I may use the expression, only the cream of the history of the New World. I should soon have reached the term of my career and had apparently more readers; but those who wish to be thoroughly informed, would have been obliged to turn to a host of books, not easily obtained, and some of them very rare, where the interesting facts are swallowed up in details and tedious accounts, and where it is not easy to separate truth from falsehood; and moreover, there are many, the perusal of which is not devoid of danger to morals and religion.

To come to the subject of the work which I now present to the public, I am sensible of all its disadvantages. It treats of an immense country, which, though two centuries have elapsed since our discovery of it, is even less peopled than it was then, although French enough have crossed to replace thrice over the Indians found there, and whom they cannot be reproached with having destroyed. This does not promise a history filled with interesting facts; but the history was called for, and with reason. It is the history of all the French colonies in the New World, which have been honored with the title of New France, or which have formed a part of it; and it was wanting. Moreover, it presents, at least in the origin of the principal settlements, only objects to heighten esteem for our nation, the only one which has possessed the secret of gaining the affection of the American.

In fact, the founders of these colonies, had it, for the most part, far more at heart to plant the Faith among the savages, than to acquire wealth; our kings recommended nothing more earnestly to those to whom they confided their authority, than the protection of religion, and have almost always sacrificed their own interest to this view, so worthy of the oldest sons of the Church. The sole motive of procuring the eternal salvation of these tribes, has led them more than once to reject the project of renouncing a country that was a burden. Who then has arrested the progress of the gospel among the Indians, and whence comes it, that the most ancient of our colonies, which should naturally be the most populous, is still the weakest of all? The course of this history will unveil it to those who take the pains to read attentively.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

OF THE NEW WORLD, AND OF THE COLONIES PLANTED THERE BY EUROPEANS.

CORRECTED AND ENLARGED.

1248.

Greenland.

Some assign to this year the first voyages to Greenland, which Mr. Savary calls *la Groenlande*, but they are in error. This great country was known to the Norwegians in the ninth century, and far better than it is now.

1363.

Guinea.

It is not known precisely in what year the French began to trade to Guinea, but it is certain that in 1364 Dieppe merchants had discovered the coast and traded there. Their memory is still dear to the inhabitants, who hand it down by tradition. The just conduct of these navigators, and the very opposite manners of other Europeans, whom they subsequently knew, have made them greatly regret the Dieppese. The name of Little Dieppe has been retained by a .place on the Grain Coast.

1383.

Fort de la Mine.

The Dieppese form an establishment at a spot on the same coast where *Fort de la Mine* is now. The civil wars of France in the reigns of Charles VI. and VII. forced them in 1410 to abandon it.

1401, 1405.

Canary Islands. The Canary Isles, which some pretend, without adducing any sufficient proof, to be the Fortunate Isles, so vaunted by the ancients, were unknown to Europeans till about the middle of the fourteenth century. Genoese and Catalan navigators having acquired some knowledge about 1345, Luis de la Cerda, whose father had been disinherited by Alphonsus X., king of Castile, his grandfather, was shortly after crowned, by Pope Clement VI., king of the Canaries; but he did not take possession of this kingdom, and the Canaries relapsed into oblivion. In the beginning of the fifteenth, or the close of the preceding century, Henry III., king of Castile, gave them to John de Bethancourt, a Norman gentleman; others say to Robert de Braquemont, afterwards Admiral of France, who sent thither John de Bethancourt, Baron of St. Martin le Gaillard, his kinsman. The latter, in 1401, or 1405, made himself master of the isles of Lanzarota, Fuerte Ventura, and Ferro, and was acknowledged as king. Maciot de Bethancourt, his relative and successor, subsequently ceded his rights to the Infante of Portugal, Dom Henry Count de Viseu, who sent thither Ferdinand de Castro, Grand Master of his house. Authors do not agree as to the time when the other islands were discovered. One fact is certain, the king of Castile having protested against the cession of Maciot de Bethancourt, by virtue of his assumed right of sovereignty over the Canaries, a treaty was made between that prince and the Infante of Portugal, whereby these islands were restored to the Crown of Castile, which still possesses them.

1412.

Cape Bojador. First voyage of the Portuguese along the coast of Africa. Their voyages for a long time terminated at Cape Bojador, which they durst not double.

1418.

Porto Santo. Discovery of the Island of Porto Santo, by Tristan Vaz and John Gonzales Zarco, Portuguese. They gave it this name because they reached it on All Saints.

1419.

Madeira. Discovery of the island of Madeira by the same. Each gave his name to the point where he landed; and Gonzales having found at his debarkation a grotto, used as a refuge by seals, called the spot *Cambra de Lobos Marinos*, and took the surname of *Cambra*, and more commonly Camara, which has been retained by his illustrious family. The name Madeira was given to this island because it was all covered with woods; for Madeira, in Portuguese, means wood, and is apparently the origin of the French word *madrier*. Some English authors pretend that Madeira was discovered over sixty years before, by Machin, one of their countrymen, who, with his wife, was thrown up there by chance in a storm. They add that Machin, having lost his wife, took to the sea again, and informed the Spaniards of his discovery, and that on his information Spanish and French navigators went to those parts, but did not discover Madeira, although they landed repeatedly in the Canaries.

1439.

Bojador. Gil Añez, a Portuguese, doubled Cape Bojador, accompanied by Anthony Gonzales Baldaya. This promontory is asserted to be the same laid down in Ptolemy, under the name Canarea. The name Bojador was given by the Portuguese, because to pass it you must first row pretty far to the west, then turn east. Bojar, in Portuguese, means *to row*.

1440.

Cape Blanco. Nuño Tristan, a Portuguese, discovers Cape Blanco. Some authors also place in this same year the discovery of Cape Verde, but the opinion is not generally followed.

1442–1443.

Rio del Oro Arguyn. Anthony Gonzales, a Portuguese, discovers Rio del Oro. The same year he discovers the Isles of Arguyn, opposite Cape Blanco. The Infante, Dom Henry, built a fort there, which was taken by the Dutch in 1638.

1445.

Angra. Gonzalo de Cintra, a Portuguese, discovered on the same coast of Nigritia a great bay, where he was killed. It was after him called Angra de Cintra—that is, Cintra's Bay. It gradually came to be called simply *Angra*.

1446.

Cape Verde. Nuño Tristan, already mentioned, discovers Cape Verde; he passed the mouth of the Senegal without discovering it, for Cape Verde has the Senegal on the north and the Gambia on the south. These two rivers are the principal branches of the Niger. Some attribute the discovery of Cape Verde to Denis Fernandez: he perhaps accompanied Nuño Tristan.

1447.

Senegal. Lanzarote, a Portuguese, discovers the Senegal, which the natives call Ovedéc. Lanzarote gives it the name of Senega or Sanega, from a negro of rank whom he enslaved, but who ransomed himself. The Portuguese at first took this river for a branch of the Nile. Some assign this discovery to the next year.

1448.

Azores. Dom Gonzalo Vello, Commander of Almouros, set out this year from Portugal to explore the Azores, so called from the numbers of vultures found there, for *Azor*, in Spanish and Portuguese, means a vulture. These islands were also called Terceiras, from the name of the largest, which is the third met going from Portugal, and hence called Terceira. The Commander explored only the isles of Fayal, Pico, St. George, La Graciosa, Terceira, Santa Maria, and San Miguel. The last is celebrated for the famous naval battle gained here in 1582, by the Marquis of Santa Cruz over Dom Antonio, calling himself king of Portugal. The islands of Flores and Corvo were not known till some years later. All these islands were uninhabited when the Portuguese Commander landed there, except Fayal, where some Flemish families had settled on the banks of a river Boterus says that the Azores were discovered in 1439,

but he is apparently mistaken, Flemings having been there even before that date. The Portuguese originally placed their first meridian at the two islands Flores and Corvo, which lie north and south, from their believing that they had observed that the needle did not vary in passing them. Other navigators declare the observation to be false. The Portuguese, we know certainly, afterwards fixed their meridian at Pico, and several nations followed their example. The French adopted Ile de Fer (Ferro), one of the Canaries. In the island of Corvo, at its discovery, an equestrian statue, of some material not recognized, was found, on a pedestal of the same, bearing characters which could not be deciphered, and which no one took pains to preserve. Early navigators paid little attention to monuments of this kind. The figure pointed with its right hand westward, as if to designate that there were lands in that direction. The Commander of Almouros began a settlement on the Azores. Azores.

1449.

Discovery of the Cape Verde Islands, by Anthony Nolli, a Genoese, in the name of the infante Dom Henry, count of Viseu. The first which he reached was called Isle of May, because he landed on May-day. At the same time, he discovered two others, to which he gave the names of St. James and St. Philip, whose festival was kept on that day. The others were not discovered till 1460, by the Portuguese, who then began to settle them all. Father du Jarric is mistaken in saying that the Portuguese made this discovery in 1446 ; and Sanut is also, in attributing it to Louis de Cadamosto, a noble Venetian, sent, he says, by the infante of Portugal, to discover new lands, unless he means that Cadamosto commanded the squadron which, in 1460, discovered those islands not seen by Nolli. Some authors take these islands for the Gorgones of Pomponius Mela ; others for the Gorgades of Pliny ; others for the boasted Hesperides of the ancients ; others, in fine, for the Fortunate Isles. And these various opinions have some probability, but only that. I should rather incline to believe the Canaries to be the Hesperides, and the Cape Verde islands, the Fortunate Isles ; but the name Fortunate suits Cape Verde itself, better Cape Verde Islands.

Cape Verde Islands.

than the islands to which it has given its name, for their atmosphere is not healthy, and they have nothing to recommend them.

1471.

St. Thomas and Prince's Island. Cape St. Catharine. Gold Coast.

John de Santarem and Peter de Escovar, Portuguese, sent by Dom Ferdinand Gomez, discovered St. Thomas, Prince's Island, and Cape St. Catharine,—the latter so called from being discovered on the festival of that saint. They found, all along that coast, many gold mines, which obtained for it the name of Gold Coast.

1472.

Annobon Island.

On the first day of the ensuing year, they discovered an island, which they called Anno Bueno, from the day. It is commonly styled Annobon.

1477.

Estotiland. Labrador.

It is pretended that in this year John Scalve, a Pole, explored Estotiland and Labrador ; but it lacks proof. He certainly made no settlement. It is even admitted now that Estotiland is a chimerical country.

1481.

St. George of the Mine.

Diego de Azambuja, a Portuguese, built Fort St. George of the Mine, on the site of the French one erected a century before.

1484.

Congo, Benin, Prester John.

Diego Cam, a Portuguese, discovered the kingdom of Congo, which comprised then Angola, Matamba, and several other kingdoms, afterwards separated from it. It seems that on his return, or at least on the same voyage, he entered the kingdom of Benin. He then learned that the king of Benin received the investiture of his kingdom, from a more powerful prince, by the royal mantle and a staff, with a cross like that of Malta ; and that the States of this great monarch lay two hundred and fifty leagues from Benin. On his return, he informed his royal master, who inferred it to be Prester John ; and three

years after, Peter de Covillam and Alphonsus de Payva were sent to that prince, who was believed to be the emperor of the Abyssinians. The two deputies embarked at Aden, a port in Arabia Felix ; then separating, Payva set out for Abyssinia, and died on the way. Covillam started for India, went to Cananor, Goa, Calicut, returned to Africa, landed in the kingdom of Sofala, passed thence to Ormuz, whence he reached the court of the emperor of the Abyssinians. Prester John.

1486.

Bartholomew Diaz, his brother, Peter Diaz, and John Infanté, Portuguese, discovered the Cape of Good Hope. They called it Cape Tempest, because they encountered terrible storms there ; but the king of Portugal, seeing that this discovery opened to him the path to the Indies, changed the name to that which it has since borne. Cape of Good Hope.

1492.

Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, on the 11th of October, discovered the first land in America, and took possession of it in the name of the crown of Castile. It was one of the Bahamas, called Guanahani, but to which he gave the name of San Salvador. He then discovered several others ; then Cuba, and at last Hayti, which he called Hispaniola. The French call it St. Domingue, from the name of its capital. First discovery of America.

1493.

Pope Alexander VI. traced the famous line of demarkation, to bring the Spaniards and Portuguese to a compromise in regard to their discoveries. It ran through the middle of the sea, between the Azores and Cape Verde islands ; but it was subsequently set back three hundred and seventy leagues west. Line of demarkation.

In the month of October, of the same year, Christopher Columbus discovered most of the Little Antilles, and the majority of the names given by him are still preserved. He then discovered Boriquen, and called it the island of St. John the Baptist. The name of Puerto Rico was afterwards added. The French call it Porto Rico. Little Antilles.

Isabel, the first city of the New World.

Thence he passed to Hispaniola, where he founded the first city built by the Europeans in the New World, and called it Isabel, in honor of the queen of Castile, who bore that name.

1494.

Jamaica.

On the 14th of March, Christopher Columbus discovers Jamaica. He gave it the name of Santiago; but its original name, Jamaica, has prevailed. In the same voyage, he assured himself that Cuba was an island.

1496.

Newfoundland.

On the 5th of March, Henry VII., king of England, granted a patent to John Cabot or Gabato, a Venetian, and his three sons, to go and discover new land. The conditions were, that after deducting all expenses, they were to give the king the fifth of the profits. This is verified by the public acts of England. What follows is not so certain. It is pretended that the Cabots discovered Newfoundland, and a part of the

Labrador.

continent of Labrador or Laborador. They went, it is said, as far north as the fifty-fifth degree, and took four Indians to England. Nevertheless, good authors assert that they landed nowhere, on continent or island. Others have since pretended

Estotiland.

that Estotiland, which was placed north or west of Labrador, was discovered in 1390, by fishermen of Frieseland. Anthony Zani, it is said, a noble Venetian, and his brother, Nicholas Zani, having sailed from the coast of Ireland, were driven by stress of weather on Frieseland, believed to be a part of Greenland, and there learned of this discovery. In their relation, they gave a magnificent description of Estotiland; but this account is evidently a romance.

First voyage to India by sea.

On Saturday, July 8th, in the same year, Vasco de Gama sailed from Lisbon for Ethiopia and the Indies, by way of the

Natal.

Cape of Good Hope. On Christmas-day, he discovered a land, which he called the land of Natal, from the day.

1498.

River des Reis, Mozambique, Quiloa, &c.

On the 6th of January, he perceived a large river, which he called River of the Kings, then Mozambique, then the kingdoms of Quiloa, Mombaza, Melinda, and Sofala; at several

points, he took possession of the country in the name of the king of Portugal. On the 20th of May, he arrived at Calicut. Barros says that he sailed from Mozambique on the 24th of August, and reached Calicut in twenty-two days. If this is so, he anchored before that town on the 16th, and not on the 20th. He is the first who reached India by that route.

De Gama takes possession of the country.

On the last day of July, in the same year, Christopher Columbus discovered Trinidad. Some say that he gave it this name because, at first, it seemed to have a mountain with three summits. Others pretend that he had made a vow to give this name to the first land he saw. On the 12th of August he landed, and was soon convinced that Trinidad was an island.

Trinidad.

On the 11th, he had seen another land, which also he, at first, took to be an island, and styled *Isla Santa;* but he soon found it to be the continent, and he gave the whole coast, which he ran along in full sight, the name of Paria, for he found that the people so called it. Some days after, having been in great danger, in one of the mouths of the Orinoco, he called it Boca del Dragon. Thence he passed to the Gulf of Pearls, and discovered three islands: he called the first Margarita, on account of the pearls found in this gulf; the other two were called Cochem and Cubagua; the latter, having the greatest pearl-fishery, has long borne the name of Isle of Pearls.

Discovery of the Continent of America. Paria. Orinoco. Isle of Pearls.

1499.

On the 16th of May, Alphonso de Ojeda, a Spanish gentleman, accompanied by Americus Vesputius, a Florentine, and Juan de la Cosa, the most able pilot then in Spain, landed on the continent of America, two hundred leagues east of the Orinoco; coasted along for two hundred leagues to a cape, which he called De la Vela; discovered the Gulf of Maracaibo, and gave the name of Venezuela—that is to say, Little Venice—to a town which he found, built on the water, somewhat like that great city. This name was subsequently extended to all the province. He finally explored all the coast of Cumana. Americus Vesputius, who was only a ship's husband on the squadron commanded by Ojeda, published an account of this discovery, of which he assumed all the honor; and to persuade the public

Cape de la Vela. Venezuela. Cumana.

Americus Vesputius.

that he was the first of all Europeans to land on the continent of the New World, he ventured to assert that his voyage had lasted twenty-five months. Ojeda, interrogated juridically as to this fact, denied it; but, as he had been at first believed on his word, people had become accustomed to give his name to the New World, and error prevailed over truth.

Salt-springs of Ayola.

Towards the close of the same year Christopher Guerra and Pero Alonzo Niño, discovered the point of Ayola, which is north and south of the western point of Margarita, and found there very fine salt-springs.

1500.

Brazil. Marañson.

Vincent Yañez Pinzon, a Spaniard, who had accompanied Columbus in his first voyage, having sailed from Spain in the latter part of December, 1499, discovered, on the 26th of January, a cape in Brazil, which he named Cape Consolation, and took possession of it in the name of the crown of Castile. The Portuguese afterwards called it St. Augustine. Pinzon then thought that he perceived the mouth of a great river, which he called Marañaon; it was subsequently found that it was only a bay, at the end of which there is an island, now bearing the name of Maranham, which it has given to a whole province in Brazil. Three fine rivers empty into the bay, but none of them bears the name of Marañaon. Father Christopher d'Acuña, in his description of the Amazon River, pretends that a river, which he calls the Marañon, issues from this great river and empties into the bay just mentioned, but he is mistaken. Some French Capuchins had a mission in the island of Marañaon, which they write *Maragnan*, following the Portuguese pronunciation, while the Spaniards write and pronounce it Marañon.

On the 8th, or, according to others, the 9th of March, in the same year, Dom Pero Alvarez Cabral sailed from Lisbon, on the second voyage to India. On Holy Saturday, after experiencing a terrible storm, which scattered a part of his fleet, and swallowed up some of his ships, he was cast with the rest on the coast of Brazil. He entered a port which he called Porto Securo: he then gave all the country the name of Holy Cross, and took possession in the name of the king of Portugal, his

master. The name Brazil, or, as the French write, Brésil, is that given by the natives of the country, and it has prevailed over that of Holy Cross. Cabral then resumed his voyage to India, arrived at Calicut on the 13th of September, thence passed to Cananor, and finally to Cochim. Brazil.

Nothing is more fabulous than the story, then current in Spain, and much circulated by those envious of Columbus—namely, that a caravel, carrying Spanish wines to England, after being long buffeted by the winds, was forced to run south, then west, and at last found itself near an island, where the crew landed to rest after their hardships at sea. Others say that it was on the coast of Pernambuco, but all agree that it was in Brazil. They added that the Andalusian, Biscayan, or Portuguese pilot (for they vary on this point), returning to Europe, after losing almost all his crew, died at the house of Columbus, in the island of Porto Santo, and left him all his notes, of which he availed himself to discover the New World. This matter was in the sequel examined in the Council of the Indies, and the imposture confounded. Moreover, if Columbus had had these notes he would have crossed the Equator, which he never did.

This same year Gaspar de Cortereal, a Portuguese gentleman, landed in the island of Newfoundland, in a bay to which he gave the name of Conception, which it still retains. He then visited all the eastern shore of that great island. Other discoveries are attributed to him in the adjacent continent, where ancient maps lay down *Terra Corterealis*. Accustomed to milder climates, with his mind filled with the idea of the riches of Africa and the Indies, he was soon disgusted with a land in which naught was to be seen but frightful rocks covered with snow, frozen rivers and sea, unfitted for the establishment of trade, except in a fish which had not yet been appreciated, and was even apparently unknown. So he sailed away for Portugal again, but was lost on the way. Champlain pretends that Cortereal made two voyages to Newfoundland, and perished in the second, where or how was unknown. He adds that Michael de Cortereal, his brother, seeking to prosecute his enterprise, met the same fate. Newfoundland.

1501.

Gulf of Uraba.

In the beginning of January, in this year, Roderic de Bastidas, a Spaniard, accompanied by John de la Cosa, of whom I have already spoken, sailed from Cadiz to make new discoveries, and after passing the Gulf of Maracaibo, discovered more than a hundred leagues of coast beyond Cape de la Vela, the limit of Ojeda's discoveries ; he entered the Gulf of Uraba, and pushed on to the site of the future city of Carthagena. It is not very certain that he gave the bay, as some believe, the name of Carthagena, which it still bears.

Isle of Juan de Nova.

At the same time John de Nova sailed from Lisbon on a third voyage to the Indies, and on his way discovered, at twenty degrees north, an island, which he called *Conception*. Having then doubled the Cape of Good Hope, he discovered another island, at about seven or eight degrees south, and gave it his name, which it still bears.

1502.

Island of St. Helena.

John de Nova, returning from the Indies, discovered the famous island of St. Helena, to which he gave its name. Some maps lay down a second of the same name, under the same parallel, and far more to the east, according to them recently discovered ; but the ablest navigators believe it fabulous.

Meliapore.

In March of the same year, Vasco de Gama, who made the first voyage by sea to India, sailed on a fourth. On arriving at Cochin, he received ambassadors from the Christians of Meliapore, who asked to be taken under the protection of the kings of Portugal.

Honduras.

In August, Christopher Columbus discovered the Cape and Gulf of Honduras.

Porto Bello.

On the 12th of September he discovered another cape, which he named Gracias à Dios, and, on the 2d of November, a port which he called Puerto Bello, commonly called Porto Bello. He then ran into some other ports of the same coast, some of which have since changed the names he gave them.

1503.

On the 6th of January following he entered a river, to which he gave the name of Belen, in memory of the entrance of the Wise Men into Bethlehem on that day. Thence he passed into that of Veragua, which is only one league off, where he found gold mines. The province of Veragua was subsequently erected into a duchy, in favor of Louis Columbus, a grandson of Christopher, and this duchy has descended in the female line, first to the house of Braganza, and lastly to that of Liria-Barwich. Veragua.

The same year Alphonsus de Albuquerque, surnamed the Great; Francis de Albuquerque, his brother; and Anthony de Saldanha, each sailed with a squadron on a fourth voyage to the Indies. In this voyage Diego Fernandez Pereyra, who commanded one of the vessels of Saldanha's squadron, discovered the island of Socotora. Alphonsus de Albuquerque himself anchored at Cape Guardafu, the easternmost in Africa, and having arrived in India, built on Cochim Island a fortress, to which he gave the name of Santiago. Socotora. Guardafu.

1504.

Basque, Norman, and Breton fishermen then, and for some time previous, had taken cod on the Great Bank of Newfoundland, and on the shores of the island, of the neighboring continent, and of the whole Gulf of St. Lawrence. It is not known at what precise time they began to frequent these seas, nor when the great bank was discovered. Great Bank of Newfoundland.

1505.

Peter de Añaya, a Portuguese, being in the kingdom of Sofala this year, obtained the earliest information of the empire of Monomotapa, in Africa. Monomotapa.

This same year, a mercantile company at Rouen fitted out several vessels to go to the East Indies, and gave the command to the Sieur Binet Paulmier de Gonneville. This captain, having reached the Cape of Good Hope, was driven far towards the south pole by the currents, and by the tempests of that stormy sea. He discovered a very fine country, whose inhabitants received him with respect and admiration. According to

Monomotapa. the relation of this voyage, these people are mild, sociable, and well made. Gonneville took to France the son of one of their kings, under a promise to restore him in twenty moons. But the civil wars prevented its fulfilment ; and not to leave unprotected a young man confided to him so graciously, he made him his son-in-law and heir. The author of the "Voyage dans les Terres Australes" was the issue of the marriage of Gonneville's daughter with this stranger.

1506.

Canada. This year, John Denis, of Honfleur, published a map of the coast of Newfoundland and its neighborhood.

Maldives. Ceylon. The same year, Lawrence de Almeyda, son of the viceroy of the Indies, going with orders to explore the Maldives, first discovered Ceylon. It is pretended that he then discovered the Maldives, which is much more probable than what they add—namely, that he discovered the island of Madagascar that same year, and gave it the name of St. Lawrence. For it seems certain that this young noble did not leave India after discovering Ceylon.

Madagascar. Isles of Tristan d'Acunha. Some pretend that the island of Madagascar was discovered in 1505, but they do not say by whom. It is certain that towards the close of the year 1506, Tristan d'Acunha, a Portuguese, on the report of Rui Pereryra, one of his captains, that he had touched at Madagascar, and that pepper was found there, sailed there in person. Marco Polo, of Venice, spoke of Madagascar, which the Chinese knew long before the Europeans. It is even asserted that they sent colonists there. Many believe this to be the Cerna of Pliny, and the Mamuthias of Ptolemy. When Tristan d'Acunha went to Madagascar, he commanded the fifth fleet which the king of Portugal sent to the Indies. Before doubling the Cape of Good Hope, he discovered the islands which still bear his name.

Yucatan. The same year, John Diaz de Solis and Vincent Yañez Pinzon penetrated to the head of the Bay of Honduras, and named it Nativity Bay. They then explored a part of Yucatan, of which Christopher Columbus had had some knowledge when he discovered the Bay of Honduras, but they only coasted along in sight of land.

1508.

Don Diego Lopez de Siqueyra discovered the island of Sumatra, quite commonly believed to be the ancient Taprobana. Thence he passed to Malacca. It is pretended that he also discovered Cape Guardafu ; perhaps he obtained a more exact knowledge than Alphonsus Albuquerque had done. Sumatra. Malacca.

The same year, a Canada Indian was seen in France, taken to that country by Thomas Aubert, a Dieppe pilot. Canada.

1509.

John Diaz de Solis and Vincent Yañez Pinzon cross the equator, coast along Brazil, and erect everywhere marks of their taking possession for the crown of Castile. Brazil.

The same year, John de Esquibel made a settlement in Jamaica, by the orders and in the name of the Admiral of the Indies, Don Diego Colon, eldest son and successor of Christopher Columbus. Jamaica.

1510.

On the 16th of February, in this year, the great Albuquerque took the city of Goa. It was twice retaken by the Hindoos, but always recaptured by the Portuguese, who made it the capital of their empire in India. Goa.

The same year John Ponce de Leon, a Spaniard, conquered the island of Porto Rico, by order of Don Diego Colon. Porto Rico

The same year Alphonsus de Ojeda and Diego de Nicuessa sailed from Hispaniola to settle, the latter Castilla de Oro, the former, New Andalusia, which had been conceded to them on that condition, and of which they had been named governors. New Andalusia was to begin at Cape de la Vela ; Castilla de Oro was to extend to Cape Garcias a Dios. The middle of the Gulf of Uraba was to be the boundary between them. The same year Ojeda built the city of San Sebastian de Buena Vista ; Nicuessa began a small settlement at Nombre de Dios. Some time after, the Bachelor Enciso, one of Ojeda's captains, founded the old city of Santa Maria, on the banks of the Darien, which empties into the Gulf of Uraba. This city, the first on the continent of America honored with the title of an Episcopal New Andalusia. Castilla de Oro. San Sebastian de Buena Vista. Santa Maria.

Santa Maria. city, existed only nine years, at the end of which the inhabitants and the Episcopal See were transferred to Panama. Ojeda and Nicuessa did not succeed in their colonization, and the name of Castilla de Oro disappears with the latter, and geographers err in giving it in their maps. That of New Andalusia has been transferred, by some geographers at least, towards the coast of Cumana.

1511.

Cuba. Diego Velasquez took possession of the island of Cuba in the name of Admiral Don Diego Colon, who invested him with the government.

Malacca. In the month of August of this same year the great Albuquerque made himself master of Malacca, and there received the ambassadors of the king of Siam, who came to congratulate him on that conquest.

After this siege, Francisco Serrano and Diego de Abreu, who had served in it with distinction, were sent to discover the Moluccas. Having separated, Abreu first landed in Java, then discovered the island of Amboyna, which is surrounded by other little islands called the Amboynas. He then passed to the isles of Banda, but went no further. Serrano made his way to Ternate. The Moluccas are divided into the Great and Little. The latter are the Moluccas proper; the chief islands are Ternate, Tidor or Tadura, Molir, Machim, and Bachian. The Great Moluccas are Gilolo, or Isle Moro, called also by the Portuguese Patochine; the Little Moluccas, which lie near it, are called on the maps Archipelago del Moro. The other great Moluccas are Amboyna, Banda, Timor, and Celebes, or Macassar, so called from the two kingdoms which divide it.

Java. Amboyna.

Moluccas.

1512.

Florida. John Ponce de Leon, the conqueror of Porto Rico, seeking a fountain of youth which had been represented to him as existing on the island of Bimini, one of the Bahamas, found himself by chance in sight of a great land. He disembarked and called it Florida, some say because it was in Easter-week; according to others, because he found the fields enamelled with flowers. He also discovered several small islands, which he called The

Martyrs. They are at the mouth of the New Bahama Channel, and skirt the western part of the Cape of Florida. The Bahama Channel is the discharge of the Gulf of Mexico into the Atlantic, and derives its name from one of the Lucayan Islands. No river has a current as strong as that of this channel. The island of Bahama forms two channels. That to the east was first used, and is called the old channel; the current is not so strong, but it is dangerous from the reefs that abound. This has caused it to be abandoned. The Martyrs.

1513.

On the 25th of September, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, who commanded at old Santa Maria de Darien, discovered the Pacific. He took possession on the 29th, in the name of Castile, marching in waist high, with his shield in one hand and his sword in the other. On the same day he gave the name of St. Michael, whose feast it was, to a gulf made by the Pacific at that point. He discovered also several islands where pearls were taken, and called them Pearl Islands. He had some time previously obtained information about Peru. Returning to Santa Maria, he explored all the country between that city and the Pacific. The Pacific. Gulf of St. Michael. Pearl Islands.

1514.

An ambassador from David, emperor of the Abyssinians, arrived at Lisbon. Abyssinian Ambassador at Lisbon.

The same year, Don Pedrarias, or Pedro Arias Davila, governor of the province of Darien, began settlements in the provinces of Santa Maria and Cartagena, of which he discovered the greatest part.

1515.

Alonzo Perez de la Rua, a Spaniard, began the discovery of Peru. Peru.

The same year, Diego de Albitez, a Spaniard, discovered Chagres River, which rises very near the Pacific, is navigable for a considerable distance above the mouth, and traverses in a serpentine course most of the isthmus of Panama. Chagres.

1516.

Nata, first Spanish city on the Pacific.

The licentiate Espinosa founds the city of Nata in the province of Veragua. It is the first Spanish city on the Pacific.

On the first day of the same year, John Diaz de Solis, already mentioned, entered a river in Brazil, which he called Rio Genero, or Enero, River of January. The Portuguese, the actual masters of all that great country, call it Rio Janerio. Diaz next discovered a much greater river, which he called after himself, Rio de Solis, and which was subsequently named Rio de la Plata. Landing here, he was killed by the Indians. Rio de la Plata is properly only a long bay, formed by the confluence of the Parana and Uraguay. The Parana, two hundred leagues above, receives the Paraguay.

Rio Janeiro.

1517.

Yucatan. Campeachy.

On the 8th of February, Francis Fernandez de Cordova embarked at Havana, by order of Diego Velasquez, governor of Cuba. He next discovered all the coast of Yucatan from Cape de Catoche to Potonchan. In this interval, he found a town called Kimpech, where the city of Campeachy was afterwards built.

The Portuguese in China. Cathay. Cambalu.

In the month of August, of this same year, Ferdinand de Andrada, a Portuguese, reached China. It is the first voyage made by the Portuguese to that great empire, of which the more western and northern part formerly bore the name of Cathay. Cambalu, capital of Cathay, is the same as Pekin.

1518.

New Spain.

Francisco Fernandez de Cordova having died on his return from Yucatan, John de Grijalva was sent by Velasquez to continue his discoveries. He first discovered the island of Cozumel, and named it the island of Santa Cruz ; then the river Tabasco, to which he gave his name ; then the island or key of Sacrificios, so called because he found men there who had just been sacrificed to the idols. A little further on, he discovered the island of Ulua, to which he gave the name of San Juan, and which is still called the island of San Juan de Ulua. It is opposite Vera Cruz, of which it forms the port. He then

advanced to the province of Panuco, and gave all these new discoveries the name of New Spain. New Spain.

The same year, Don Pedrarias Davila sent the licentiate Diego de Espinoza to Panama to found a city there, or rather to remove to it the inhabitants and materials of Santa Maria la Antigua of Darien. The city of Panama has since changed its place, having been withdrawn a little to the west. The bishop assumes the title of Primate of Terrafirma, although a suffragan of Lima, because Santa Maria la Antigua, which Panama has replaced, was the first Episcopal See on the mainland of the New World. This does not prevent the Archbishop of San Domingo, in Hispaniola, whose See is still more ancient, from being acknowledged as primate of all Spanish America. Panama.

1519.

On the 10th of February of that year, Hernan Cortez sailed from Havana to conquer New Spain. He landed within San Juan de Ulua, and founded on the mainland a city, which he called Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, because he arrived there on Good Friday. This is now called Old Vera Cruz. The new city is three leagues further east, opposite the island of San Juan de Ulua. Having the same year reached Mexico, he sent Diego de Ordas to examine the volcano of Popocotapec, in the province of Tlascala. Vera Cruz.

1520.

Ferdinand de Maghaillans, better known under the name of Magellan, a Portuguese captain who had served at the siege of Malacca under the great Albuquerque, and who afterwards entered the service of the king of Spain, in consequence of some slights which he had received from the Portuguese court, proposed to the Catholic monarch the conquest of the Moluccas, and his offer was accepted. Some vessels having been assigned to him, he set sail on the 10th of August, 1519. In May of the ensuing year, he discovered an island which he called Isla de los Tuberones (Seals), the island of St. Peter, the island of Cocos, which he called the Unfortunate Islands, because he found them deserted and uncultivated. On arriving at the entrance of the famous strait which bears his name, Discovery of Magellan's Straits. Terra del Fuego

Terra del Fuego.

he gave the name of Cape of the Virgins to the first land that he discovered, because he saw it on St. Ursula's Day. He entered the straits on the 7th of November, and on the 27th he found himself in the South Sea, which he called the Pacific. The name Terra del Fuego, given to the country to the south of the straits, seems to be more modern. It arose, we are told, from a number of fires seen there by navigators. It was, perhaps, lightning, the whole region being subject to great thunderstorms, arising from the vapors drawn by the sun from the two oceans ; and doubtless, too, in consequence of the nature of the soil. From the narratives of Hollanders who have sailed in that quarter, it would seem that it is only a collection of islands, with ship-channels between them.

Mexican mines.

The same year Hernan Cortez sent Gonzalo de Umbria to explore the southern coast of New Spain, and Francisco Pizarro, with Diego de Ordas, to visit the northern. At the same time mines were discovered in the country, and Montezuma, emperor of Mexico, acknowledged himself a vassal of the king of Spain, and sent him a tribute.

Florida.

The licentiate, Luke Vasquez de Ayllon, this same year undertook to continue the exploration of Florida ; he discovered, in fact, Cape St. Helena and the province of Chicora. This Cape St. Helena is at the mouth of a pretty large river, afterwards called the Jordan.

1521.

Ladrones. Cebu. Matan.

Discovery of the Ladrone Islands by Magellan. He also called them the Archipelago of St. Lazarus. These islands are now called the Mariane Islands. Magellan then discovered the island of Cebu, and subsequently Matan, where he was killed. After his death Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa was recognized as commander of the fleet. He retained of his ships only the Trinidad and Vitoria, and having fallen in with a Chinese junk bound to the Moluccas, took a pilot aboard, who carried him to Tidor, which he reached on the 8th of November, or, according to Osorio, towards the end of October. Thence he returned to Spain, by way of India, in the Vitoria. It is the first vessel that circumnavigated the globe, and is still preserved at Seville.

This same year Hernan Cortez made himself master of Mexico, and the conquest of that capital put an end to the empire of the Mexicans. Mexico.

1522.

Parillas, a soldier of the army of Hernan Cortez, discovers the province of Mechoacan. This discovery was followed the same year by several others in New Spain, and in particular by that of Nicaragua. Gil Gonzalez Davila entered it some time before through the province of Darien, and discovered the canton of Nicoya. Mechoacan. Nicaragua.

The same year the body of the apostle St. Thomas was found at Meliapore, and transported to Goa by order of Edward de Menesez, but this did not prevent the rebuilding of Meliapore, under the name of St. Thomé. St. Thomé.

1523.

John Verazani, a Florentine, who had entered the service of Francis I., king of France, this year made a first voyage to North America. Few authors have spoken of this expedition, which is known only by a letter of Verazani himself to the king, dated Dieppe, July 8th, in which he supposes his majesty informed of the success of this first attempt. It may well be, however, that this was less an attempt to make discoveries than to make cruises against the Spaniards, for we know that he made more than one. First voyage of Verazani.

1524.

Verazani set out again the next year to begin or continue his discoveries. In the month of March he came in sight of the land of Florida. He then made fifty leagues south, and found himself at 34° N. He turned northward, and ranged the whole coast to an island discovered by the Bretons, and lying, according to him, at 50° N. If this was Cape Breton, now Isle Royale, he was mistaken in his estimate; but it may well be that he landed on Newfoundland, where the Bretons had been fishing for a number of years. Second voyage.

In the month of November, this year, Francisco Pizarro sailed from Panama to complete the discovery, and attempt the conquest of Peru. Peru.

1525.

Third voyage. Third voyage of Verazani. His success is unknown, as he perished on it: how, is not known. A modern historian, Don Andres Gonzales de Barcia, is surely mistaken in saying, in his *Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia de la Florida*, p. 82, that Verazani was taken by the Spaniards near the Canaries, in 1524, and hung as a pirate. If this misfortune befell him, it could only be in 1525, on his return from his third voyage.

Island of St. Matthew. The same year Don Garcias de Loysa, a Spaniard, discovered the island of St. Matthew, to the west of Annobon. An inscription is said to have been found there on a tree, stating that the Portuguese had landed there eighty-seven years before.

Macassar. Mey Islands. Antonio de Britto and Garcias Henriques, Portuguese, who commanded on the Moluccas, were sent this year to discover the island of Celebes or Macassar. Those intrusted with this commission, in their endeavor, after fulfilling it, to regain the Moluccas, were driven off by the wind, and found themselves in sight of several islands, where they could not land, and called them Mey Islands..

Peru. Diego de Almagro also sailed the same year from Panama to join Pizarro, his associate in the conquest of Peru.

1526.

Parana. Paraguay. Sebastian Gabot, or Gabato, a Venetian, who had left the service of the king of England for that of the Catholic king, this year entered the Rio de Solis, which he named Rio de la Plata. He ascended the Parana, and even the Paraguay. The name of Silver River was given to this great stream from the fact that on the banks of the Paraguay he found much silver in the hands of some Indians: he believed this silver to be derived from that country, whereas the Indians had taken it from some Portuguese of Brazil, returning from the province of los Charcas, on the frontier of Peru. I have already noted that the Rio de la Plata proper is only the bay where the Parana, already united with the Paraguay, receives also the great river Uruguay.

Martin Yñiguez de Corquizano, a Spaniard, this same year discovered the island Mindanao. Other Spaniards who, in 1521, were going to the Moluccas, had already landed there, but made no report. Mindanao.

1527.

Francis de Montejo, a Spaniard, appointed governor of Yucatan, sailed this same year to reduce it, and found a colony there. All this was accomplished before the close of the ensuing year. Yucatan.

This same year, or a short time before, John Bermudez, a Spaniard, discovered a little island to which he gave his name. It is commonly written la Vermude in French, although sometimes Bermude. Bermuda.

This same year Pizarro, after exploring about two hundred leagues of the Peruvian coast, down to the port of Santa, beyond the district of Quito, returned to Panama. Quito.

Bantam, in the island of Java, is conquered by Pedro Mascarenhas. This city was soon after restored to its king, on condition of his paying tribute to the king of Portugal. Bantam.

About the same time, Edward Conil, a Portuguese, discovered the islands and straits of Sunda. This captain was under the orders of Francis Sa, who had embarked to make the discovery, but whose vessel was driven off in a storm. Straits of Sunda.

1528.

Expedition of Pamphilo de Narvaez, a Spaniard, to Florida. On the 5th of June, he discovered the country of the Apalaches. Apalaches

The same year Andrew de Vidareta, a Spaniard, discovered New Guinea, between Asia and America. It is not yet positively known whether this country is a continent or an island. Yet some authors have pretended that it was recently circumnavigated. John de Laet pretends that New Guinea was discovered in 1527 by Alvaro de Saavedra, who was driven there by a storm on his way from the Moluccas, to which Cortez had sent him. New Guinea

1529.

Discoveries of Ambrose Alfinger, a German, in the province of Venezuela, which had been granted by the Emperor Charles V. to the Velsers, rich Augsburg merchants. Venezuela.

1530.

Peru. Francisco Pizarro embarks at Nombre de Dios to continue the conquest of Peru.

New Galicia. Culuacan. The same year Don Nuño de Guzman made several discoveries in New Spain, on the Pacific side. Christopher de Oñate, one of his captains, founds, by his order, the city of Guadalaxara, in New Galicia, one of these new discoveries, and which bears also the name Xalisco, its principal province. Guzman was a native of Guadalaxara, in Castile. At the same time he discovered the province of Culuacan.

Chiapa. About the same time Diego de Ordas, a Spaniard, discovered the province of Chiapa in New Spain.

1532.

Orinoco. Diego de Ordas soon after entered the Orinoco, and made discoveries ascending that river, which were continued in the years next following by other Spanish captains.

Cinaloa. The same year Don Nuño de Guzman discovered the province of Cinaloa, in New Galicia.

Carthagena. About the same time Don Pedro de Heredia, a Spaniard, built the city of Carthagena. He gave it this name from its resemblance in position to Carthagena in Spain. The place was formerly called Calemori. Ojeda and Nicuessa had fought there with the native Indians.

1533.

Peru. Francis Pizarro puts to death Atahualpa, king of Peru, and extinguishes the empire of the Incas.

1534.

Cuzco. The next year he enters and subdues the province of Cuzco.

Acapulco. The same year Hernan Cortez has the whole Pacific coast, where Acapulco is situated, explored.

Canada. The same year Philip de Chabot, admiral of France, having induced King Francis I. to resume the plan of discoveries begun by Verazani, commissioned Jacques Cartier, of St. Malo, an able pilot. Cartier embarked at St. Malo, April 20th, and reached Cape Bonavista, in Newfoundland, at 48° N., on the

10th of May. Then running five leagues S.S.E., he entered another port, which he named St. Catharine. Sailing south, he crossed the gulf, and entered a great bay, where he suffered much from heat, and called it Chaleurs Bay. Some memoirs say that the Spaniards had visited it before him, and it has certainly been sometimes called Bay of the Spaniards. He then coasted along a good part of the gulf, took possession of all the countries he had explored, and returned to France. Canada.

1535.

Francis Pizarro founds the city of Lima on Epiphany, and calls it Villa de los Reyes. It still bears the name in public acts. Lima is the name of the valley where it lies. Lima.

Peter de Mendoza, a Spaniard, built the city of Buenos Ayres, on the western bank of the La Plata. It was also called Villa de la Trinidad. It was twice abandoned, and not rebuilt, as it is at present, till 1582. Buenos Ayres.

The same year Cortez, embarking in person, discovered California, to which he gave the name of St. Philip. Till the commencement of the present century it was believed to be an island. California

On the 19th of May this year, Jacques Cartier sailed from St. Malo to prosecute his discoveries. Entering, on the 10th of August, the gulf which he had explored the year before, he named it the St. Lawrence, in memory of the holy martyr whose feast is celebrated on that day. This name was subsequently extended to the river which empties into the gulf. The name Canada, which it bore, was that given by the Indians to the whole country. Canada.

On the 15th he discovered, at the mouth of the river, a very long island, called by the Indians Natiscotec, and he gave it the name of Assumption Island. It bears more commonly that of Anticosti, believed to come from the English. Cartier then ascended the river, and on the 1st of September, after advancing ninety leagues, found himself at the mouth of the Saguenay, a great river coming from the north. He kept on up the river ninety leagues more, and arrived at Hochelaga, a great Indian town built on an island, at the foot of a mountain styled by

Canada. him Mont Royal, now called Montreal. This name has extended to the whole island. No other river is known which so long retains so great a width, or is so far navigable for the largest vessels. Ships of sixty guns can ascend to Quebec, one hundred and twenty leagues from the sea, and large barks can go sixty leagues further, to the island of Montreal.

1536–1537.

Chili. Diego de Almagro, one of the conquerors of Peru, discovers Chili.

New Granada. Sebastian Belalcazar, a Spaniard, discovers the province of Popayan, which forms part of New Granada, commonly called Nuevo Reyno. He at the same time discovered the source of the great river Magdalena, the whole course of which was explored some time after by Don Fernando de Lugo, admiral of the Canaries. This discovery, and that made by the same admiral of the rest of New Granada, were not completed till the year following, 1537. Nicholas Ferderman, or Vredeman, a German, entered it the previous year, through Coriana, a canton of the province of Venezuela.

Paraguay. John de Ayola, a Spaniard, continues the exploration of the Paraguay, and the provinces lying on that river.

1538.

Cibola. Father Mark de Niza, a Spanish (Italian) Franciscan, starting this year from St. Michael's of Culuacan, in New Galicia, discovered the kingdom of Cibola. No great account was made of the memoirs of this religious, but they led to new discoveries.

Florida. On the 12th of May, in this same year, Ferdinand de Soto sailed from Havana to complete the discovery, and effect the conquest of Florida. He acquitted himself well of the first of these two projects, but after three years' wandering, died without conquering an inch of territory.

California. The same year Hernan Cortez, setting out for Spain, dispatched Francis de Tello to complete the discovery of California, almost all the western shore of which that Spanish captain coasted. He then made several other discoveries in those parts.

1539.

Gonzales Pizarro, governor of Quito, the most northerly province of Peru, discovered the country of the Quixos, in the interior of that province, and then styled it La Canela. Following up this expedition, Francisco Orellana, a lieutenant of Pizarro, having been sent to obtain provisions, discovered a great river, which he descended to the sea, without a thought of his commander. He gave his name to this river, afterwards known under the name of Amazon and Maragnon. Amazon River.

The same year, Francis Vasquez Cornero, or Cornedo (Coronado), a Spaniard, sent by Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of New Spain, to continue the discoveries in California, discovered the kingdoms of Cibola and Quivira. Cibola. Quivira.

1541.

Peter de Valdivia continues the exploration of Chili, and made many settlements there. Chili.

This same year John Francis de la Roque, Seigneur de Roberval, a gentleman of Picardy, made a settlement on the island of Cape Breton, now Isle Royale, and sent a man named Alphonso to explore Canada, north of Labrador ; but we have no details of this voyage. Canada.

Anthony de Faria y Sousa, a Portuguese, at the same time discovered the kingdoms of Camboya (Cambodia) and Champea, the isle of Poulocondor, those of Lequios and Hainan, with some smaller ones, called Puertas de Liampo. Camboya. Champea. Lequios Islands. Hainan.

In fine, it was the same year that Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, a Spaniard, discovered the Luzon islands, already in part discovered by Magellan. He gave the whole Archipelago the name of Philippines, in honor of the Prince of Spain, afterwards Philip II. Philippines.

1542.

On the 6th of May, this year, St. Francis Xavier arrived at Goa, and at the same time was discovered Japan, of which he was to be the first apostle. This discovery was made in the same year, at two different points. Ferdinand Mendes Pinto, Diego Zeimotto, and Christopher Borello, at one place, and Antonio Mota, Francisco Zimotto, and Antonio Pexota at another, Japan.

Japan. all Portuguese, reached it, without any knowledge of each other; the former, from Macao, landed at the island of Tanuxima, whence Pinto penetrated to the kingdom of Bungo. The latter, starting from the island of Macassar, were driven by a storm into the port of Cangoxima, in the kingdom of Saxuma. None of them set down the day or month of their arrival; but from Pinto's narrative he evidently reached Japan in May. These are the same islands mentioned by Marco Polo, of Venice, under the name of Zipangu.

New Granada. Settlements and new discoveries in the new kingdom of Granada by Ferdinand Perez de Quesada.

Paraguay. The same year Alvar Nuñez Cabesa de Vaca founded for the second time the city of Buenos Ayres: ascended the Parana and Paraguay, and made some settlements in those provinces.

Cape Mendocino. About the same time John Ruys Cabrillo, a Portuguese, in the service of Charles V., made some discoveries on the coast of California. He reached a cape at 44° N., which he named Mendocino, in honor of Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of New Spain. Our French maps call it Cap Mendoce.

Tucuman. Discovery of Tucuman by Diego de Rojas, a Spaniard.

1543.

Florida. Mississippi. Luis de Moscoso de Alvarado, successor to Ferdinand de Soto, who died at the mouth of the Red River, in the Micissipi, and whose body was cast into that river, descended it to the sea. Garcilasso de la Vega, in his *History of the Conquest of Florida*, gives this river the name of Cucagua, and the Spaniards of Florida even now call it La Palizada.

1545.

Potosi. The mines of Potosi in this year discovered by Villaroel, a Spaniard, who began this year to work them.

1546.

Philippines. Miguel Lopez de Lagaspi, a Biscayan, began this year to make settlements in the Philippines.

1548.

Nuslo de Chavez, a Spaniard, discovers several provinces west of the La Plata and Paraguay, and founds the first city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. It was afterwards removed more northward, and became the capital of one of the four governments into which Paraguay is divided. The other three are, Tucuman, on the south; Assumption of Paraguay, on the east; and Rio de la Plata, south of this last. Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

1549.

In this year settlements were begun in Tucuman, and the neighboring provinces. Tucuman.

1552.

Juan de Villagas, a Spaniard, governor of the province of Venezuela for the Velsers, discovers all the territory where New Segovia was afterwards built. New Segovia.

1553.

First attempt to find a northern passage to China by Sir Hugh Willoughby, an Englishman. This knight was forced by stress of weather into Arzena, a port in Lapland, where he and all his crew perished with cold. His journals showed, that having ascended to 72° N., he saw a land which on some maps bears his name; some call it Willop's Land, but useless efforts were made to find it at the point indicated; it was west of Nova Zembla, then unknown. Willop's, or Willoughby's Land.

1554.

Francis de Ybarra, a Spaniard, discovers the mines of Santa Barbara and San Juan, and several others in New Biscay. He made, subsequently, several settlements in the provinces of Tapia and Cinaloa, which, as well as New Biscay, belong to New Galicia. Mines of Santa Barbara and San Juan. New Biscay.

1555.

Nicholas Durand de Villegagnon, a Frenchman, knight of Malta, sailed May 14th, this year, from Havre de Grace, to go French in Brazil.

French in Brazil.

and found a settlement in Brazil, and on the 10th of November he reached Rio Janeiro, which the natives of the country called Ganabara. He there founded a French colony, composed entirely of Huguenots, but which did not subsist long after he himself abandoned it, and re-entered the bosom of the Catholic Church.

1556.

Waeigatz. Nova Zembla.

Stephen Barrow, an Englishman, seeking a northern passage to China, discovered Waeigatz Straits, between the southern part of Nova Zembla and the country of Samoyeds. He imagined a gulf east of the strait to be an open sea, and thought that he had discovered the desired passage, but the failure of subsequent attempts shows his error

1562.

French in Florida.

Jean de Ribaud, a Frenchman, sails from Dieppe, with a commission from Admiral Coligni, to form a settlement in Florida. He anchored first at a cape, which he called Cap François, at about 30° N. This was the same place where Verazani landed on his second voyage. On the 1st of May he entered a river which he called May River, where he planted the arms of France. He then reconnoitred the coast for sixty leagues, always ascending northward, and afterwards discovered several other rivers, to which he gave the name of rivers in France. At last, reaching the most distant, which he called Port Royal, he built a fort there, and called it Charles Fort. It was quite near the present city of Charleston, in South Carolina.

Charles Fort.

1564.

Laudonniere. Carolino.

René de Laudonniere, a Frenchman, arrived in French Florida, which had been abandoned the year before by the settlers whom Ribaud had left. On the 29th of June he entered May River, and built a fortress, which he called Caroline.

1565.

Cebu.

Michael Lopez de Lagaspi built a city, Cebu, on the island of that name, the first of the Philippines discovered by Magellan.

1567.

On the 10th of January, 1567, Alvaro de Mendaña, cousin of the licentiate Castro, governor of Peru, sailed from Callao, having as chief pilot Hernan de Gallego. After running eighteen hundred leagues west, he discovered at 7° 30′ S. a very large island, and anchored in a port which he named Santa Isabel de la Estrella. He remained there some time, and sent to explore several neighboring islands of different sizes. He saw one, among others, apparently very large, of which he explored only the north shore. He named the first that he saw St. Elizabeth's, estimating its length at about ninety-five leagues, and the second Guadalcanar. He gave names to several others of the neighboring islands, and the whole group was styled Solomon's Islands. The history of the Marquis de Canete, viceroy of Peru, may be consulted on the subject. Solomon's Islands.

1571.

Foundation of Manilla, in the island of Luzon. It is now the capital of the Philippines. Manilla.

1574.

Discovery in the Pacific of the islands of Juan Fernandez, so called after their Spanish discoverer. They are commonly reckoned as two, although maps lay down two others to the north, under the names of St. Felix and St. Ambrose, which are sometimes also included in the group of islands of Juan Fernandez. The former lie at 34° S., opposite Chili. The Spaniards call the one towards the land Isla de Tierra, the outer one Isla de Fuerra, and both, Desaventuradas—that is to say, the Unfortunate. De Laet apparently thought these two islands and the other two to be the same. Islands of Juan Fernandez.

1576.

Sir Martin Frobisher, an Englishman, discovered a strait that bears his name between the north of Greenland and a large island to the south. He took back ores to England. Frobisher's Strait.

1577.

Frobisher's second Voyage.

Frobisher, in a second voyage to the same seas, made several discoveries beyond his strait, and gave them names still retained on maps.

1578.

West Friseland.

Frobisher's third voyage. He sailed from England on the last day of May with fifteen vessels. On the 20th of June he reconnoitred West Friseland, and took possession in the name of Queen Elizabeth, after giving it the name of West England. He assumed it to be the same land which the Venetian brothers, Zani, had styled Fridsland.

1579.

New Albion. Straits of Anian.

Francis Drake, an Englishman, discovered New Albion, north of California. The English pretend that it forms one continent with the Strait of Yesso; but New Albion is now quite commonly believed to be fabulous. Drake also assured Queen Elizabeth that he, this same year, entered the Straits of Anian for twenty leagues. People are not agreed as to the situation of this strait, of which accounts differ. But if it does exist, it is apparently east of Yesso, and but little distant from that country.

1580.

New English attempt to reach China by the North.

Arthur Patt and Charles Jackman, Englishmen, by order of Queen Elizabeth, followed the same route taken by Stephen Barrow twenty-four years before. They pass Waeigatz Straits, enter the sea east of that strait, and find it so covered with ice that, after encountering great dangers, they are compelled to return without effecting any thing. Being afterwards separated in a storm, Patt was never heard of.

1582.

New Mexico.

Friar Augustine Ruyz, a Spanish Franciscan, having in 1580 and 1581 made several discoveries to the north of New Spain, Anthony de Espejo, a Spaniard, continues them, discovers more than fifteen provinces, and gives all this great country the name of New Mexico

1583.

Gilbert Humphrey, an English knight, sailed for Newfoundland at the instance of Walsingham, secretary of state; he takes possession in the name of Queen Elizabeth, and establishes the cod-fishery, from which England has derived more profit than she would if the island had been filled with gold mines. Moreover, no men are lost in this trade, and nothing contributes more to make good sailors. Newfoundland.

Richard Grenville, an Englishman, by order of Queen Elizabeth, made a settlement in Florida, a little below S. Juan de Piños. It did not last long. English in Florida.

1584, 1585.

Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, Englishmen, sent by Sir Walter Raleigh, sailed in March, 1584, and landed on Roanoke Island. On their return to England, they spoke so well of the country that Queen Elizabeth gave it the name of Virginia, to immortalize the memory of her celibacy. A settlement was made the next year on Roanoke Island; but it did not last, the country not proving as good as was at first supposed. The name of Virginia did not attach to it, for Roanoke is in North Carolina. Virginia.

The same year, 1585, John Davis, an Englishman, was ordered by Queen Elizabeth to continue Sir Martin Frobisher's discoveries, which he did successfully in this and the following years.

1586.

After several discoveries in what was then called the Sea of Estotiland, he advanced to a cape where he encountered many storms, and ran great danger. He called it Cape Desolation. Cape Desolation.

1587.

He discovered a strait, to which he gives his name, and which still retains it. Davis' Straits.

1589.

Pedro de Sarmiento, a Spaniard, sent by Don Francisco de Toledo, viceroy of Peru, against Sir Francis Drake, who was

Discoveries towards the Straits of Magellan.

desolating all the Pacific, discovers all the coast from 49° S. to the Straits of Magellan, which he passed. He everywhere took possession of the country for the crown of Castile.

1590.

Davis' Straits. Cumberland Island.

Most English authors place in this year the discovery of Davis' Straits. This strait is between Greenland and an island called, by Davis, Cumberland Island.

1591.

Hudson's Bay.

It is pretended that this year Frederic Anschild, a Dane, wintered in Hudson's Bay, drove an extensive trade for furs, and returned richly laden to Denmark, but without making any settlement.

1593.

Southern lands.

Sir Richard Hawkins, an Englishman, having undertaken to circumnavigate the globe, discovered, southwest of Magellan's Straits, at 48° S., a great land extending on the one side beyond Le Maire's Straits, and on the other till opposite the Cape of Good Hope. He also ascertained, it is said, that the land south of Magellan's Straits is only a collection of islands.

1594.

Nassau Straits.

Count Maurice of Nassau having taken up the project abandoned by the English of discovering a northern passage-way to China, dispatched three vessels, under the command of Cornelius Cornelisznay, who sailed in the Swan of Veer, in Zealand ; the second vessel, named the Mercury, of Enchuysen, was commanded by Brandt Ysbrandtz, of Tergales ; and the third, the Bot, of Amsterdam, had as captain William Barentsz, of Ter Schellings, burgomaster of Amsterdam. John Huyghens van Linschooten was clerk on the Mercury, and has given us a journal of this voyage. They sailed from Texel June 5. On the 24th they made Isle Kildoyn, where they anchored. It is about 69° 40′ N. They made then rendezvous for their return, and the Bot of Amsterdam parted company to go in the direction of Nova Zembla, which was already known, but the discovery of which is by some geographers incorrectly assigned to

Barentsz, who commanded this vessel. On the 21st of July the two vessels perceived a land, which, according to their opinions, should be Waeigatz Island or land, and on the 22d an opening which they took for a strait of the same name. They entered and called it Nassau Strait. They encountered great danger here from the ice. Leaving this they entered the Sea of Tartary, and found it so beautiful that they had no doubt but that it must lead them to China and Japan. They advanced beyond the mouth of the river Oby; then retracing their course, and repassing Nassau Straits, they anchored on the 16th of August north of an island which they called Maurice Island. Here Barentsz joined them, having run up to 78°, and explored most of the Nova Zembla coast. Ice had prevented his further progress, and he was seeking a southern passage. Cornelis told him that he believed he had discovered one by Nassau Strait. North of Maurice Island was another, which was named Orange Island. These islands are at about 69° 30′. The land beyond the gulf, eastward, was styled New West Friesland, Waeigatz Island was called Enchuysen Island, and the whole country south of the Straits of Nassau, as far as the Oby, was called New Holland. On the 15th of September they anchored at Texel.

Maurice Island.

1595.

Alvaro de Mendaña sailed on the 11th of April from Callao in four vessels for Solomon's Islands, bearing as first pilot Peter Hernan de Quiros. After sailing more than 1,100 leagues west, they discovered at about 10° several inconsiderable islands, which they named the Marquesas de Mendoza; holding still west, they came to more small islands, and at last, on September 7th, reached a large one, where they landed in a bay, and called it Graciosa. During their stay on the island they explored the coast. It seemed to them about 300 leagues in circuit. They discovered several islands near the large one, which they styled Islands de Santa Cruz.

Marquesas. Graciosa. Islas de Santa Cruz.

Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition to Guiana and discoveries.

Guiana.

The three officers named in the article 1594 sailed from Texel July 2, in seven vessels, to continue their explorations, but meeting much ice, they returned to Holland with fainter hope of finding what they sought.

1596.

Spitzbergen. William Barentsz undertakes to pass to China north of Nova Zembla; but after discovering Spitzbergen, which he took to be an island, and which the English regard as part of Greenland, he lost his ship in the ice, and wintered in Nova Zembla. He then endeavored to reach Cola, in Lapland, but died on the way, still convinced that twenty leagues north of Nova Zembla there is no ice, nor any thing to prevent a ship penetrating to China. In fact, if we may credit the author of the account of the shipwreck of a Dutch ship in 1653, on Quelpaerts Island, who states that whales were found in the sea of Corea still bearing in their body Gascon harpoons, such as are used in the whale-fishery on the coast of Greenland, we cannot doubt the justness of Barentsz's conjecture.

1598.

Sebald de Wert's Island. James Mahu, Simon de Corde, Sebald de Wert, and some other Hollanders, attempting to pass through the Straits of Magellan, were forced by head winds to return, without any of them reaching the Pacific except the ship which carried William Adams, an Englishman, as first pilot of the squadron, and which was wrecked on the eastern shore of Japan. Sebald de Wert, on leaving the straits, discovered, February 24th, three islands, which bear his name. He puts the latitude at 50° 50′ S. Some authors assign this discovery to the year 1600.

Sable Island. Acadia. The Marquis de la Roche, a Breton, receiving from Henry IV., of France, a commission to continue the explorations begun by Jacques Cartier, discovered, this same year, Sable Island and a part of the coast of Acadia. It is pretended that Sir Humphrey Gilbert, already mentioned, lost three ships on Sable Island in 1581.

1599.

New Mexico. San Juan. John de Oñate makes extensive conquests in New Mexico. He builds the city of San Juan, and discovers a number of mines.

1602.

The States-General consolidate into one all the separate mercantile companies, and form from them the famous Dutch East India Company. Dutch East India Co.

1604.

Pierre de Guast, Sieur de Montz, and Samuel de Champlain, Frenchmen, complete the exploration of Acadia, begun by the Marquis de la Roche; then discover the southern coast of Canada, which is separated from Acadia by the Bay of Fundy. They made a settlement the same year on Isle de St. Croix. The next winter, Champlain pushed his explorations beyond Pentogoet (Penobscot). Acadia.

1605.

Continuing their discoveries, they explore the Quinibequi, or Canibequi (Kennebec), the river of the Canibas, an Abenaki nation, then Cape Malebare, opposite a cape which the French call Cap Blanc, and the English, Cape Cod, near which has since been built the city of Boston (pronounced by the French Baston), now the capital of New England. Champlain planted a cross on Cape Malebare, and took possession in the name of his royal master. Cape Malebare. Cape Cod.

1606.

Peter Ferdinand de Quiros, a Spanish captain, sailed from Callao, December 21, 1605, in two vessels, to discover southern lands. He steered W. S. W., and January 26, 1606, in latitude 25° S., 1,000 leagues from the coast of Peru, he descried an island of about four leagues circuit. He saw several other islands and extensive lands in a space of about 400 leagues, detached, however, and separated from each other, and running up to about 10 or 11° S. It is therefore incorrect in geographers to set down in this place a continuous coast of about 800 leagues in length. Terra de Quiros.

He then steered west, and on April 25th discovered a great continent, which he named Tierra Austral del Espiritu Santo. He anchored in several ports which he named. This is commonly called Tierra de Quiros.

Terra de Quiros.

It is easy to see that these lands are south of the eastern point of New Guinea, and form the eastern shore of the land of Carpentaria.

1607.

Virginia.

John Smith, an Englishman, explores Chesapeake Bay, and the river Powhatan, which empties into it. On this river he built a fort, which has become a city, named Jamestown, now the capital of Virginia. He also gave the river the name of James, in honor of James I., king of Great Britain, but its former name is more in use.

The Dutch settle in the Indies.

This same year the Dutch expelled the Portuguese from Amboyna, one of the great Moluccas, and made their first settlement in the East Indies.

1608.

Quebec.

On the third of July, in this year, Samuel de Champlain founded the city of Quebec, capital of New France, on the northern shore of the river St. Lawrence, 120 leagues from the sea, between a little river which bears the name of St. Charles, and a large cape called Cape Diamond, because a quantity of diamonds, like those of Alençon were then found there. The Indians gave this place the name Quebeio, or Quelibec, which in Algonquin and Abenaki means *a narrowing in*, because the river there narrows in till it is only a mile wide ; whereas just below Isle Orleans—that is to say, ten leagues further down—it still maintains a breadth of four or five leagues.

1609.

New York.

Henry Hudson, an Englishman, after running along the coasts of Virginia and New England, found Cape Cod to be twenty leagues further west than he supposed. He then discovered, at 40° N., a large bay, in which emptied a great river, which he called Manhatte, from the name of the Indians whom he found there. This captain was in the service of the Dutch, who were for some time in possession of that country, which they styled New Netherland. The city of Manhattan and Fort Orange were built by them on the same river. This country now bears the name of New York, and belongs to the English, who gave the same name also to the city of Manhattan.

We read in some memoirs, that in 1609 a vessel clearing from Acapulco, a Mexican port on the Pacific, was surprised by a violent storm, in which it lost its route; that after two months it found itself at Dublin, in Ireland, whence it proceeded to Lisbon, but that the king of Spain ordered all the journals of the pilots to be burned, so as to deprive all foreigners of a knowledge of the route followed by this ship, which is supposed to have gone by the northern route, above Canada. Supposed northern route.

In fine, this same year, Henry Hudson and William Baffins, Englishmen, penetrated very far to the northwest above Canada, where the next year they discovered, as the English pretend, the countries which still bear their names; but they certainly made no settlement there; and Nelson, Hudson's pilot, certainly did not then take possession of what the English call Port Nelson, on the western shore of Hudson's Bay. Hudson's Bay and Straits.

1611.

Samuel de Champlain penetrates into the country of the Iroquois, and discovers a great lake, which still bears his name. Iroquois. Lake Champlain.

Don Juan de Oñate, a Spaniard, discovers the Rio del Norte, called by some the Rio Colorado, and the lake of the Conibas, above New Mexico. Rio del Norte.

At the same time, Thomas Button, an Englishman, discovered, north of Canada, a great country, which he called New Wales. He next explored all the bay which bears his name; then Diggs' Land; and, finally, another very vast country, which he called Cary's Swan's Nest. Button's Bay.

1612.

James Hall, an Englishman, discovers Cockin's Straits at 65° N., above Canada. Cockin's Straits.

1613.

Some Englishmen discovered an island to the north of Greenland, which they called Hope Island. Some suppose it to be identical with that discovered by Willoughby in 1553; but this does not seem to be so. Hope Island.

1615.

Samuel de Champlain enters the country of the Hurons in Canada, and spends the winter exploring it. Hurons.

New Netherland. This same year the Dutch began to settle Manhattan Island, and gave the country the name of New Netherland.

Ascension Island. On the 14th of June, William Schouten and James or Jacob le Maire, Dutchmen, sailed from Texel to seek a new passage to the Pacific, and on the 3d of November discovered Ascension Island, said by Schouten, in his journal, to be one of Martin Vaes' islands, but I cannot find when or by whom these were discovered.

1616.

Le Maire's Straits. On the 25th of January, Schouten and Le Maire found themselves at the mouth of a strait, south of Magellan's. Of the two lands bordering on this strait, they called that on their left, to the E. S. E., Staten Land, and that on their right, to the west, Maurice von Nassau's Land. The same day they entered the strait. On the 29th they discovered several small islands, which they called Barneveld's Islands, in honor of John Van Orden Barneveld, counsellor-pensioner of Holland and West Friesland. The same day they perceived a cape, which Schouten calls Cape Horn, from the name of his birthplace. On the 12th of February they found themselves through the strait, which they called Straits of Le Maire, because Isaac le Maire, Jacob's father, was the chief owner in the venture. Returning to Europe by way of the Moluccas, they discovered several islands, chiefly inhabited, and all the northern coast of New Guinea. On their arrival in Holland, after circumnavigating the globe, they found that they were reckoning a day short of the right time, for, according to their count, it was Monday, when it was, in fact, Tuesday.

Edgar's Isle. This same year Thomas Edgar, an Englishman, discovered, north of Greenland, an island, to which he gave his name.

1617.

Wiches' Island. Another island, north of Greenland, discovered by an Englishman named Wiches, who gave it his name.

1618.

Source of the Nile. Father Peter Païs, or Paez, a Portuguese Jesuit, having gone to the kingdom of Gojam in the suite of the emperor of the Abyssinians, discovered the source of the Nile.

To this year is assigned the discovery of New Holland, quite near the Austral Lands. It is still doubted whether they do not connect with each other, as well as with the lands of Janz Tasmen, Van Diemen, New Zealand, Carpentaria, and New Guinea. The first part of New Holland discovered was called Land of Concord. New Holland.

1619.

John Munk, a Dane, undertaking to seek a northwest passage to China, above Canada, keeping Frobisher's route, ran up to 64° N., where he was arrested by the ice. He wintered in a bay, giving his name to a river emptying into it. He then called this sea Christiana Sea, and all the country which he discovered New Denmark. New Denmark. Christiana Sea.

Edel's Land, discovered in New Holland, bears apparently its discoverer's name. Edel's Land.

1620.

Father Jerome de Angelis, a Sicilian Jesuit, enters the land of Yesso, which no European had previously reached. He went by sea, and landed at the city of Matsumay. He then took this country to be a continent. Yesso.

Batavia founded by the Dutch, in the island of Java, on the ruins of the ancient city of Jacatra. Batavia.

Some Englishmen, sailing from Plymouth in the month of September in this year, found New Plymouth, the first city in New England. New Plymouth.

1621.

Father de Angelis, having returned to Matsumay, believed on this second voyage, yet without affirming it, that this city was on an island. The Japanese also seem to be of this opinion. Yesso.

1622.

William Baffins, according to the most general opinion, discovered in this year, and not in 1617, as some suppose, the bay bearing his name, north of Davis' Straits. Baffin's Bay.

Discovery of Lewin's Land, in New Holland. Lewin's Land.

1624.

Source of the Ganges. Thibet.

Father Anthony de Andrada, a Portuguese Jesuit, discovers the source of the Ganges, and then Thibet. Marco Polo, of Venice, spoke of two Thibets, which adjoined, but their situation was unknown. It was Greater Thibet that Father de Andrada discovered.

1625.

Cayenne.

First settlement of the French in the island of Cayenne. They have been several times driven out by the Dutch, but since the year 1677, when the Count d'Etrées retook it, it has remained theirs, with all the mainland of Guiana Proper.

St. Christophers.

This same year some French and English landed on the island of St. Christophers the same day, at different points, unaware of each other, and settled there. They were shortly after driven out by the Spaniards, but soon returned. The French then began a settlement on the island of St. Eustatius, and soon after others in the neighboring islands.

1627.

Nuyt's Land.

Peter de Nuyts, a Dutchman, discovers, between New Holland and New Guinea a land which bears his name. All these countries are still very little known.

1631.

New Discoveries north of Canada.

Captain James, an Englishman, discovers several lands north of Hudson's Bay. He called all at the mouth of the bay New South Wales. He then named Cape Henrietta Maria, Lord Weston's Island, Earl Bristol's Island, Sir Thomas Roe's Island, Earl Danby's Island, and Charleston Island. The last is at 52° N.

1633.

Maryland.

Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, an English Catholic, having obtained from Charles I., king of Great Britain, a grant of a large territory north of Chesapeake Bay, between Virginia and Carolina, sent his son thither, who this year began a settlement. The country was named Maryland, in honor of Mary of France, queen of England.

1637, '38, '39.

Two Franciscan friars, Dominic de Britto and Andrew de Toledo, starting from Quito, embarked on a river quite near there, and letting the current bear them on, at last entered the Amazon, which they descended to the sea. On their report, which does not give much light, Don Pedro de Texeyra started from Para, a province in Brazil, on the 25th of December, in the same year, to ascend the river, of which he acquired a better knowledge. The Amazon.

The Spanish wishing to know more fully the course of this great river, the governor of Quito induced Fathers Christopher de Acuña and Andrew de Artieda, Jesuits, to accompany Don Pedro Texeyra on his return to Para. These two missionaries, after an exact observation of the whole country watered by this great river and its branches, went to Spain to give an account to the Spanish monarch. We have the journal of this voyage by Father de Acuña, translated into French by M. de Gomberville, of the French Academy. I have already observed that Father de Acuña was mistaken in laying down on his map a river, or rather an arm issuing from this river, under the name of Marñaon, and emptying in the Bay of Maranham, in Brazil.

Many errors had till now prevailed as to the source of this great river, which was supposed to be near Quito, but they had taken the head-waters of a branch for those of the main stream. Father Samuel Fritz, a German Jesuit, in 1707, discovered it in Peru, in a lake called Laurichoca, near the city of Guanuco, at 11° S. According to this missionary, the true name of this river, of which he has given us a very fine map (*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, vol. xii.), is Marañon. After leaving its source, it runs north about a hundred leagues, then turns east, and empties into the Atlantic by eighty-four mouths, which occupy a breadth of eighty-four leagues. He adds, that it keeps its water fresh more than thirty leagues out at sea.

Foundation of New Sweden and of the town of Christina, between Virginia and New York, then called New Netherland, and occupied by the Dutch. The latter had settlements even in New Sweden, when the Swedes arrived, and these two New Sweden.

Tranfer of Swedish rights to the Dutch.

nations at first lived there very tranquilly. The Dutch devoted themselves to trade, and the Swedes to the cultivation of the earth. After some time they became antagonists ; but in 1655, John Risingh, the Swedish governor, transferred all his rights to Peter Stuyvesant, governor for the United Provinces.

1642.

Van Diemen's Land and Tazmania.

Discovery of Van Diemen's Land and Tazmania, by Abel Tazmann, a Dutchman. It is pretended that the north shore of the former had been discovered by another Dutchman, named Zechaen.

Madagascar.

This same year the French went to Madagascar, and settled. They gave this island the name of Dauphin Island, but they abandoned it some years after.

1643.

Brouwer's Passage.

Brouwer's Passage, east of Le Maire's Strait, between Staten Land and another great land, bears the name of its discoverer. It is called simply Passage, because it is not yet known whether it is a new strait, or whether it re-enters Le Maire's.

Yesso. Straits of Vriez. Isles of the States. The Company's Land.

The same year, Martin Heritzoon, of Vriez, a Dutchman, undertook, in the Castricoom, a ship of the Dutch India Company, to explore the country of Yesso. Ascending above Japan to about 45° N., he discovered two lands separated by a strait fourteen leagues wide, to which he gave his name, and which is still called Straits of Vriez. One of the lands bordering on it was named Isles of the States, the other, The Company's Land.

1656.

Hudson's Bay.

Sieur Bourdon, an inhabitant of New France, sent to the northward by the governor-general, entered Hudson's Bay, where nobody that we know had yet penetrated, and took possession in the name of the Most Christian king.

1660.

Carolina.

Charles II., king of Great Britain, granted to George Monk, duke of Albemarle, and five other English noblemen, that part of Florida which extends from Virginia to what is now called New Georgia. They divided the country among them, and gave it the name of Carolina.

1667.

Zachary Ghillam, an Englishman, having run up Baffin's Bay to 75° N., ran down to the bottom of Hudson's Bay, entered a river which, rising in Canada, empties there, and which he named Rupert's River. A few years before, some Englishmen had ascended the river to Lake Nemiscau. Hudson's Bay.

1668.

Two Danish ships tried to form a settlement north of Hudson's Bay, and discovered a river, which they called Danish River. Its mouth is at 59°. They abandoned it the next year. Danish River.

1671.

Father Charles Albanel, a French Jesuit, and Sieur Denis de St. Simon, a Canadian gentleman, sent by the governor-general of New France to the north of Canada, reach Hudson's Bay by a hitherto untried path, and take possession in the name of the French king. Hudson's Bay.

1673.

Father Peter (James) Marquette, a French Jesuit, and Sieur Joliet, an inhabitant of New France, discover the Mississippi. They entered it by the river Ouisconsing, which empties into it, rising in Canada, and descended it to the Arkansas. Mississippi.

1674.

Fathers Grillet and Bechamel, French Jesuits, penetrate to the interior of Guiana, to the west of the island Cayenne, where no European had yet gone, and make many discoveries. Guiana.

1675.

About this time, Father Cyprian Baraza, a Spanish Jesuit, entered the country of the Moxos, situated between 10° and 15° S., in the interior of Peru. A Jesuit brother, named del Castillo, had made an expedition there before that missionary. Father Baraza was assured that there was a country to the east of Moxos, inhabited by warlike women. He then entered the country of the Baures, which bounds that of the Moxos, and was martyred there in 1682, after having founded a great number of missions in these vast provinces. Moxos. Baures.

1676.

Attempt to find a northern passage to China.

Captain John Wood and William Hawes, Englishmen, wishing to follow the passage indicated by Barentsz to reach China by the north, were arrested by the ice. Wood pretends in his journal that there is no passage between Nova Zembla and Greenland, and that these two lands are but the same mainland ; for, says he, if there were a passage there would be a regular current ; and he found only a tide, rising about eight feet, and running E. S. E.

1680.

Micissippi. Island of Barbadoes.

Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, a native of Rouen, having undertaken to continue the exploration of the Micissippi, sent a Canadian named Dacan, accompanied by Father Louis Hennepin, a Flemish Recollect, to ascend this river from the Illinois River to its source. These two travellers went to 46° N., and were stopped by high falls, which extend entirely across the river, and which they named the Falls of St. Anthony of Padua.

That same year, and the next, Captain Sharp, a Hollander, having endeavored in vain to pass to the Pacific by the Straits of Magellan, the Straits of Le Maire, and Brouwer's Passage, sought a more southerly route, and found several ice-covered islands, much snow, and numbers of whales. After stopping some time on an island, which he called Duke of York's Island, he ran more than eight hundred leagues to the eastward, then as far west, and discovered an island, to which he gave the name of Barbadoes.

1681.

Pennsylvania.

Establishment of Pennsylvania, in the country which had borne the name of New Sweden. This country received its name from its founder, Sir William Penn, an Englishman, to whom Charles II., king of Great Britain, granted the country in 1680, and who, this year, 1681, led there some Quakers from England, of whom he was the chief. When he arrived there, he found a great number of Dutch and Swedes. The former were chiefly settled along the gulf, and the latter on the banks of the Delaware, or South River. It seems from one of his

letters that he was not satisfied with the Dutch ; but he says that the Swedes were a simple, hardy, laborious people, without malice, caring little for abundance, and contenting themselves with what was necessary. Character of the Dutch.

Anthony de Saravia, first governor of the Marian Islands, took possession of them in the name of the Catholic king, on the island of Guahan, which is the chief one. Magellan had discovered these islands in 1521, and had called them, first, the Archipelago of St. Lazarus, then the Ladrone Islands, because some of the islanders, who had never seen iron, stole from him some iron tools. In 1563 the admiral Don Miguel Lopez de Lagaspé took possession in the name of the king of Spain, but made no settlement. They were then called Islas de la Velas, because whenever the islanders perceived Spanish ships, they went off in great numbers to take them fresh provisions, so that the sea seemed covered with little craft driven by sails. In 1668, Father Diego Luis de San Vitorés, a Spanish Jesuit, accompanied by several other religious of his order, entered and converted so many, that, in 1671, the principal inhabitants put themselves under the protection of the Catholic king. At the landing of Father de San Vitorés, these islands were called Marian Islands, in honor of Mariana of Austria, queen of Spain. At last, on the 8th of September, 1681, Anthony de Saravia received the oath of fidelity of the governors and principal officers of the island of Guahan, and the others soon after followed its example. Father de San Vitorés had previously, in 1672, bedewed the isle of Guahan with his blood, and thus crowned his apostolic career by a glorious martyrdom. Ladrone Islands.

1682.

The Sieur de la Salle descends the Mississippi to the sea, and takes possession in the name of the Most Christian king of all the countries watered by that great river, giving them the name of Louisiana. This province, which now forms a government independent of that of New France, is bounded on the north by the mouth of the Illinois River, which empties into the Mississippi. Louisiana.

The same year two Frenchmen, settlers of New France, named des Groselliers and Radisson, discovered the Bourbon Bourbon River.

St. Teresa River. Port Nelson. and St. Teresa rivers, which empty together in a little bay on the west side of Hudson's Bay, at 56° N. The English call the bay Port Nelson, pretending that Nelson, Henry Hudson's pilot, discovered it in 1611, and took possession in the name of the English crown; but this is not likely.

1684.

Yesso. A Japanese ship, sent by the emperor of Japan to explore all the country of Yesso, entered the channel supposed to separate the isle of Matmanska or of Matsumay from the continent of Yesso. The captain observing that the current always ran north, while from the report of Father de Angelis that west of Yesso always runs south, concluded, as that missionary had, that the sea communicates with another. Since that time, but in what year is not stated, another Japanese vessel was sent out with the same object, and the commander, perceiving a large continent, ran up to it, and wintered in a harbor which he found. On his return he reported that the land stretched far away to the northeast, and he conjectured that it was the continent of America.

Kamtschatka. Since the last discoveries of the Russians, it is believed that the land of Yesso is the southern part of Kamtschatka, which forms one mainland with Siberia. Some, however, place Kamtschatka northeast of Yesso, which does not seem to agree with what the Russians say, that the southern part of this great country is inhabited by the Kurilskis, originally Japanese, and tributaries of the emperor of Japan.

1696.

Palaos Islands. On the 28th of December, in this year, some unknown savages landed on Samal, one of the Pintados islands, depending on the Philippines. They had been driven there by a storm. They found two women of their nation, shipwrecked there some years before, and one of them had already been obliged to land in the same way on Caragena Island, near Mindanao. It was ascertained from them that the islands were called Palaos; that they were thirty-two in number; and they gave their names, size, and distance apart. They lie east of the Philippines, and northeast of the Moluccas. It was at first believed

that it was one of these islands that a Spanish captain saw in 1686, and called Caroline, in honor of Charles II., king of Spain, and which others have called St. Barnabas Island, from its being discovered on the day assigned for the festival of that martyr; but the sequel showed this to be an error. The language of the islanders in question is very different from that of the ancient inhabitants of the Philippines, and even from that of the Marian Islands, which are nearer, and are the Ladrones, or Archipelago of St. Lazarus. Their pronunciation approaches that of the Arabs. They have been called the New Philippines, but attempts made in 1710 and 1711 to explore them failed, and cost the lives of several Jesuits who perished, some at sea, others as they landed on islands of the group. Palaos Islands.

1700.

The name of New Islands has been given to several lands first made known in this year, and situated at 51° and 52°; about fifty or fifty-five leagues N. N. E. of the Straits of le Maire. The Maurepas and St. Louis, vessels of the India Company, starting from Staten Land in 1707 and 1708, coasted along the southern part of these lands. The St. Louis even anchored on the eastern side, and got water from a pond a short distance from the seashore. This water was somewhat reddish and stale, but good for the sea. In 1711 the St. Jean Baptiste, Captain Doublet, of Havre de Grace, coasted them nearer than had been previously done, and seeking to enter a pretty large opening, which he perceived in the middle, he found several small hidden islands almost at the surface of the water, which compelled him to steer off. This group of islands is the same that Fouquet of St. Malo discovered and called the Anican Islands, from the name of the merchant who fitted out his vessels. New, or Anican Islands.

The northern part of these lands was discovered on the 16th of July, 1708, by Captain Peré of St. Malo, commanding the Assomption, whose name he gave to this coast. He ran along it twice to explore it more accurately, and estimated it to be fifty leagues E. S. E. and W. N. W. There is reason to believe that these are the same islands discovered by Sir Richard Hawkins in 1593. This navigator, being east of the Desert

New, or Antican Islands.

Coast, or coast of the Patagonians, at 50° S., was driven by a storm on an unknown land, which he coasted for sixty leagues.

Sebald's Islands.

Some have believed these lands to be identical with Sebald's Islands, and that the three which bear that name are laid down on the maps from conjecture, in default of more perfect knowledge, but the ship Incarnation of St. Malo saw the islands in 1711 in very clear weather. They are really three small islands, about half a league long, ranged in a triangle. The vessel went within three leagues of them, and saw nothing of any other lands, although the sky was very serene. This proves that they are at least seven or eight leagues from the New Lands. M. de Beauchêne stopped in 1701 at Sebald's Islands, without seeing any thing of the New Islands, of which the western part is still unknown.

1701.

California.

Father Eusebius Francis Kino, a German Jesuit, having started in 1698 from the missions of Cinaloa and Sonora, in New Mexico, advanced northward along the sea, to the mountain of Santa Clara, and seeing that the coast turned from east to west, instead of following it, as he had done hitherto, struck inland, marching from S. E. to N. W. In 1699 he discovered the Rio Azul (Blue River), which, after receiving the waters of the Hila, bears its own from east to west to the great River of the North, or Rio Colorado. He then crossed this river, and in 1701 found himself in California. He there learned that thirty leagues from where he was, the Rio Colorado emptied into a great bay on the west coast of California, which is thus separated from New Mexico only by this river.

Micissipi.

The same year the Sieur le Moyne d'Iberville, a Canadian gentleman, captain of a ship of the line, discovered the mouth of the Micissipi, which the Sieur de la Salle had missed in 1684.

1716.

Thibet.

Father Hippolyte Desideri, a Florentine Jesuit, enters the second Thibet. This missionary started August 17, 1715, from Ladak, the residence of the king of Great Thibet, discovered in 1624 by Father de Andrada, and arrived at Lassa, capital of

the second Thibet, March 18, 1716. There is, in fact, but one Thibet, called also Toubet, Tangout, Barantola, and Boutan When Father de Andrada entered it in 1624, the country was subject to a very powerful king, supposed to be of the race of the famous Prester-Jean, or at least his successor. Since then the Grand Lama has been, as it were, sovereign of Thibet, and makes his residence at Lassa, or Lasa, the most sacred spot in the land, from its grand pagoda, which is visited from all parts. Thibet now depends on China. It is also sometimes called the kingdom of the Eluths. Thibet.

1718.

The following discovery has every look of being imaginary. A merchantman, commanded by the Sieur Perrin, sailing this year from Rochelle for Quebec, was wrecked ; one John Baptist Loysel, of Rennes, in Brittany, escaped to an unknown island, where he was well received and treated by the inhabitants, and died about 1732. An English ship, it is added, sailing from England in 1733 for New Georgia, was also driven by a storm on the same island. Lewis, the captain, was taken to a cabin, where an inscription cut with a knife informed him of the adventures of Loysel, whose clothes and grave were shown him. Nothing is said of the position of this island, to which Captain Lewis gave his name after taking possession. Loysel, in the inscription of which I have spoken, says that it seemed to him to be about twenty leagues in extent ; that he believes mines will be found there ; that it produces several precious plants, and has a very fertile soil. Lewis Island.

1720.

Two vessels, full of unknown Indians, landed on Guahan, the largest of the Ladrone Islands, at two different points, one on the 19th, the other on the 21st of June. They had started together from an island which they called Sarreslop, to go to another, called Ulée. After a leisurely examination, it was found that their country was a considerable archipelago, which included the island named Caroline in 1686, and the island of St. Barnaby, and that the group is divided into five provinces. Father de Cantova, a Spanish Jesuit, drew up a map, which is Caroline Islands.

Caroline Islands.

to be found in the eighteenth volume of the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus.* He places all these islands between 6° and 11° N., so that they run over 30° of longitude east of Cape Espiritu Santo. There are many blacks among these islanders, who are supposed to come from New Guinea, mestizoes, and whites. These are supposed to be descended from some Spaniards, who were put ashore on one of these islands in 1566, for conspiring against their commander on a voyage from Mexico to the Philippine Islands. In 1722 they were preparing in the Ladrones to explore these islands, to which the name of Caroline Islands was given, but we have no intelligence of the result of the enterprise. It is pretended that there are silver mines in one of these islands.

1732.

New Georgia.

Settlement of New Georgia by Mr. Oglethorpe, in the name of the king of England, between Carolina and Spanish Florida. All this country was comprised in French Florida, which extended northward to Charleston, in Carolina. This new colony is bounded on the north by the Savannah River, and on the south by the Altamaha, and it is only sixty or seventy English miles in length on the coast, between 31° 30′ and 32° 45′ N., but it widens as it goes inland.

1738–1739.

Austral Lands.

In the month of July, 1738, two of the French India Company's ships, commanded by the Sieur Bouvet, sailed from l'Orient to discover the Austral Lands; and on the 1st of January, 1739, this captain descried, in latitude 54° S. and longitude 27° to 28°, a very high land, covered with snow and very foggy, which he called Cape Consolation. The fogs and ice prevented his landing or coasting near enough to make out whether it was an island or a continent. He only remarked that it extended eight or ten leagues E. N. E.

1739.

Islands north of Japan.

In the beginning of the year 1740, information reached St. Petersburg that Captain Spanberg, sailing north of Japan, had discovered thirty-five islands of different sizes, the inhabitants

of which, as soon as they perceived him, sent out six boats to reconnoitre. He landed on one of the islands, and was received by the people with great marks of joy. He states in his narrative that these people strongly resembled the Japanese, and showed him a great quantity of gold and copper. At the same time he sent the czarina some of their coins. The exact position of these islands is not given

Islands north of Japan.

CRITICAL LIST OF AUTHORS

WHOM I HAVE CONSULTED IN COMPOSING THIS WORK.

Early writers more correct.

As we have not yet any complete consecutive history of New France, and the most popular relations of that great country are neither the most exact nor the most faithful, it is not surprising that cosmographers, geographers, with geographical or historical dictionaries, speak very incorrectly of it. It is singular, however, that the older books are generally less disfigured by errors than modern ones. It is true that when they appeared the French North American colonies were of little importance; but making all due allowances, they spoke more exactly than their successors, who attempted to correct them. The former had before them only a few memoirs, whose authors confined themselves mainly to stating what they had seen or learned from eye-witnesses, and could only be accused of some exaggeration.

Blaeu's Great Atlas.

Thus the great Atlas, printed at Amsterdam in 1677 by John Blaeu, having been composed principally from the *India Occidentalis* of John de Laet, who himself had only followed in the main John Verazani, Jacques Cartier, Samuel de Champlain, René de Laudonniere, and Mark Lescarbot, all authors, commonly speaking, quite trustworthy, was for its time the best that could be given. It is true that previous works, such as *Le Theatre du Monde*, by John and William Blaeu (Paris, 1649–55); *Del Arcano del Mare* (Florence, 1630), of Robert Dudley, Duke of Northumberland and Earl of Warwick; the *Atlas*, of Gerard Mercator; the *World*, of Davity; the Geography of Thevet (*Cosmographie Universelle*, Paris, 1575), &c., either because these authors wished to be too concise, or failed to study all the accessible authorities on the subject, are much more imperfect, both in the maps and in the text; but as they gave little information, they could not lead into great errors.

Grand Theatre du Monde. Arcano del Mare.

Mercator. Davity. Thevet.

THOMAS CORNEILLE.

Corneille, in his Geographical Dictionary, wishing to add to what the Abbé Baudrand and Maty had said of French America, followed chiefly the Voyages of the Baron de la Hontan, a sorry guide, as we shall soon see; nevertheless, as he aimed chiefly to show the different nations inhabiting this great continent, and has greatly abridged La Hontan's account, it happens by a kind of chance that he drew generally from what is most passable in that traveller, so that the article on Canada is not the most defective in his dictionary. This is not the case with several other special articles, where he did not select his authorities judiciously. As the Mississippi is to Louisiana what the Nile is to Egypt, we cannot conceive how the author, speaking of Louisiana, never mentions the river, and in his article on the river does not even name Louisiana.

GEUDREVILLE.

In volume VI. of Geudreville's Atlas (published by Honnoré and Châtelain, Amsterdam, 1719), we find first a general dissertation on America, containing faults in history and geography which would not be pardoned in a school-boy. Is it tolerable, for example, in a man who publishes a complete course of geography, at such expense, to say that Guadeloupe, which he calls Gardeloupe, is about ten leagues from the Bahamas? The subsequent dissertation on Canada is not more accurate; it is merely a poor abridgment of La Hontan's memoirs, in which you easily detect the uncouth, and often barbarous style, and unbecoming expression of that traveller. Indeed, it is regarded as a fact that Geudreville retouched the last edition of his Voyages. Lastly, there is a third dissertation on Louysiana, which is so superficial, and so confounds truth and falsehood, that only those who know the country well can tell his meaning. Proper names are entirely disfigured there.

ROBBE and LA MARTINIERE.

Mr. Robbe and Mr. de la Martiniere divide New France into two provinces, namely, Canada proper, and the province of Saguenay. This division is imaginary, and badly imagined at that. 1st. In placing in the province of Saguenay the city of Quebec, the capital of French Canada. 2d. In encircling this pretended province of Saguenay by that of Canada, which Mr. Robbe extends below the Saguenay River to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and above Quebec beyond the lakes.

Mr. de la Martiniere is much fuller than Corneille in all the

articles relating to my history, and almost always cites his authorities, but he is generally not happy in his selection. The Abbé Lenglet du Fresnoy led him into error by dividing Canada into Eastern Part and Western, or Louysiana. This division supposes the latter province to lie west of Canada, which is wrong, since it is bounded on the north by the Illinois River, which empties into the Mississippi at 39° N., the country to the north belonging to New France; whence it follows that Louysiana is south and southwest of Canada. Nor do I know on what ground the geographer of the king of Spain reckons Norimbegua among the provinces belonging to the English on the continent. What was formerly so called is between Acadia and New England; now that great country was not ceded to Great Britain, as he supposes, by the treaty of Utrecht.

He then gives us a table of the Indian nations of the Eastern part of Canada, that is to say, of all known east of the Mississippi. This table is copied from La Hontan, and needs a good errata, as does what he draws from the same source on the natural history of the country, the manners and character of the people inhabiting it, the condition of the French colony, the revenues and power of the governor-general and intendant. In the article on Cape Breton, Mr. de la Martiniere justly censures the Abbé Baudrand, who had asserted that Gaspé was the true name of that island. But in 1730, when he printed this volume of his dictionary containing this article, he should have known that it had changed its old name to Isle Royale.

The Abbé Lenglet du Fresnoy, in the first edition of his *Méthode pour étudier la Geographie*, had said that Carolina owes its name to Charles II., king of Great Britain, in whose reign and by whose consent this colony was founded by some English noblemen. Mr. la Martiniere reproached him with having fallen into an error, and he was so docile as to correct this alleged fault, and state in a second edition that it was so named in honor of Charles IX., king of France: but he can, with all safety, return to his first statement. Except the southern part of Carolina, this country never belonged to France. The confusion arises from a fort on the river May, built by Mr. de Laudonniere, and now called San Matheo. The French colony, founded under Charles IX., and comprising the southern part of

ROBBE and LA MARTINIERE.

English Carolina, the present New Georgia, San Mateo, St. Augustine, and all held by the Spaniards on that coast as far as Cap François, was never called by Champlain (Mr. de la Martinière to the contrary notwithstanding), nor by any French author, any thing but French Florida, New France, or Western France.

Mr. la Martiniere is also mistaken in saying that Mr. de Ribaut had built a fort on river May, and gave it the name of Charles; the fact is, that Ribaut entered river May, and set up a column, with the arms of France, but did not stop there. He went further north, and entering another river, which he called Port Royal, built a fortress there, to which he gave the name of Charles-Fort. This river is in English Carolina. Two years after, Mr. de Laudonniere built la Caroline on river May, which never was in English Carolina, and consequently could not give it a name.

I am glad also to note here that no Spaniard or other European having appeared in that country before the French, led there by Ribaut in 1562, it is surprising that the learned geographer of the Catholic king pretends that the Spaniards had a right to treat these French in Florida as pirates, when they held a commission from the king their master, and that no reproach could be made to them had they treated them as prisoners of war. In the first place, there is a glaring contradiction here, for if the Spaniards had a right to regard these Florida Frenchmen as pirates, they could not be reproached with treating them as such. In the second place, on what ground could they treat as pirates subjects sent by their own sovereign to a country which the French had first discovered, and where no nation had settled before them? Was it enough that it pleased the Spaniards to call almost all North America Florida, to treat as usurpers and pirates all who settled in any portion of an immense country, of which they did not know the tenth part, and where they had never had a settlement?

I might extend my remarks to many articles in the new *Dictionnaire Géographique*, where there are, nevertheless, many excellent things. In general, the author is very well acquainted with the countries of which I write the history. Yet a mere examination of the map would have prevented his saying, for example, that Lac du St. Sacrement (Lake George) receives

the waters of Lake Champlain, when, on the contrary, it is the latter that receives the waters of the former lake. He does not seem better acquainted with the great lakes of Canada, and errs in placing Lake Champlain in the Iroquois country. What deceived him is, that this lake is formed by the Sorel River, formerly called the river of the Iroquois ; but it was so called only because the Iroquois often descended by that river into the French colony. I have also been much surprised to find two articles on Michillimakinac and Missilli makinac, which mean the same thing. The error comes from the attempt of some authors to soften the real word Michillimakinac, by writing Missillimakinac. Robbe and La Martiniere.

M. de Lille has made many researches in his Atlas, and some happy discoveries ; but his map of Canada is very defective : that of Louisiana is somewhat less so, yet he had reason to be satisfied with neither, and I know that at his death he was taking steps in earnest to give us better ones. M. de Lille.

The article on Canada in the two last editions of the *Historical Dictionary* of Moreri, and that on Louisiana, are very nearly exact, and they would lack little had the editors profited more by the memoirs given them. The article on Carolina and some others are entirely disfigured. Moreri.

De Gallorum Expeditione in Floridam, & clade ab Hispanis non minus injustè, quam immaniter ipsis illatâ, anno M.D.LXV, brevis Historia. Challus. Benzoni. 1586.

This relation is derived in a great measure from a French account, apparently by one Nicholas Challus. It is printed at the end of a work of Jerome Benzoni (pp. 427–470), translated from the Italian into Latin by Urban Chauveton, under the title *Novæ Novi Orbis Historiæ, Genevæ, apud Eustathium Vignon*, MDLXXVIII. It is followed by a *Brief Discours de la Floride,** which says about the same thing. A new edition of this work appeared at Geneva in 1600.

Histoire Notable de la Floride, située es Indes Occidentales contenant les trois voyages, faits en icelle par certains Capitaines & Pilotes François, descrits par le Capitaine Laudonniere, qui y a commandé Laudonniere. 1586.

* This should be "Supplicis Libelli exemplum, Carolo IX. Regi Galliæ oblati a viduis," etc., pp. 471–477. There is no French tract in the volume.

LAUDONNIERE. l'espace d'un an trois moys : à laquelle à esté adjousté un quatriesme voyage fait par le Capitaine Gourgues. Mise en lumiere par M. Basanier Gentil-homme françois Mathematicien. 8o., Paris, 1586.

Whatever the Sieur de Laudonniere saw with his own eyes may be relied upon. I will show hereafter what is to be thought of the rest.

THEODORE DE BRY. 1590. In the first volume of the *India Occidentalis*, printed at the expense of Theodore de Bry in 1590, is :

1. BREVIS NARRATIO EORVM, QVÆ IN FLORIDA AMERICÆ PROVINCIA Gallis acciderunt, secunda in illam Navigatione, duce Renato de Laudõniere, classis præfecto, Anno M.DLxiii. . . Additæ figuræ et incolarum eicones ibidem ad vivum expressæ ; brevis item Declaratio Religionis rituum, vivendique ratione ipsorum. Auctore Iacobo le Moyne cui cognomen de Morgues, Laudõnierum in ea Navigatione sequuto. Nunc primum gallico sermone à Theodoro de Bry, Leodiense in lucem edita, Latio vero donata a C. C. A.
2. Libellus, siue Epistola supplicatoria Regi Gallorum Carolo IX. eivsdem nominis, oblata per viduas, orphanos, cognatos, affines & ipsi Franciæ Occidentalis Regi subditos, quorum consanguinei per Hispanos in eâ Galliæ antarcticæ parte, quæ vulgô Floridæ nomen inuenit, crudeliter trucidati perierunt. Anno 1565.
3. De quartâ Gallorvm in Floridam navigatione svb Gourguesio. Anno 1567. The author is unknown.
4. Parergon continens qvædam, quæ ad præcedentis narrationis elvcidati onem non ervnt forsan invtilia.

This subject has been treated with more order and at sufficient length by Mark Lescarbot, of whom I shall soon speak, and more briefly by Champlain, after these same memoirs. But these two authors have not given to French Florida the name of Antarctic France, as was done by the author of the *Supplication* addressed to Charles IX.

SOLIS DE LAS MERAS. 1565. The melancholy catastrophe of the French of Fort Caroline, after the capture of that place by Peter Menendez, has been related in one form in the works I have cited, and in a very different manner by Doctor Solis de las Meras, a brother-in-law of Menendez, who accompanied him on his expedition. His account, which had remained in manuscript, is inserted entire in the *Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia de la Florida* (pp. 85–90), published at Madrid in 1723, of which I shall speak in its order.

La Florida del Ynca, o Historia del Adelantado Hernando de Soto, Governador y Capitan General del Reyno de la Florida, y de otros heroicos caualleros, Españoles è Indios, escrita por el Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega, capitan de su Magestad, natural de la gran ciudad del Cozco, cabeça de los Reynos y prouincias del Peru. Dirigida al serenissimo Principe, Duque de Bragança. En Lisbona. Impresso por Pedro Crasbeeck. Año 1605. 8o. — Garcilasso de la Vega. 1608.

The same translated into French by Pierre Richelet. 2 vols., 12o. Paris: Cloutier. 1670. — Richelet.

This work is esteemed for the manner in which it is written in Spanish, and also for the matter itself, that is to say, for the succession and order of the expeditions of Fernando de Soto, and his successor Luis de Moscoso; but the author has evidently exaggerated the wealth and power of the Floridians. They are now well known to the French in Canada and Louisiana; and although we admit that in De Soto's time they were much more populous than at present, as has been the case with all tribes on the continent, we know beyond doubt that they have never been near so rich or powerful as the historian represents them.

Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas i Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano, escrita par Antonio de Herrera, Coronista Mayor de su Md. de las Indias, y su Coronista de Castilla. . . . Folio. En Mad. en la emplenta real. 1601–1615. — Antonio de Herrera.

This work is in four volumes, which comprise eight decades, but only two volumes issued from the royal press in 1601. The last two were printed at Madrid in 1615 by Juan de la Costa. A new edition appeared a few years since, merely adding a very detailed index, which was wanting. The first two decades have been translated into French anonymously. The Spanish historian is an exact, sensible, judicious, and impartial annalist. His work ends, in regard to Florida, with the mission of the Dominicans in 1549, six years after the retreat of Luis de Moscoso.

In the third volume of the great collection of John Baptist Ramusio (folio, Venice, 1606), are: — Ramusio.

1st. Discorso sopra la Terra ferma dell' Indie Occidentali dette de Lauorador, de los Bacchalaos & della nuoua Francia.

It is of little importance.

Verazani. 2d. Al Christianissimo Re di Francia, Francesco Primo, Relatione di Giouanni da Verrazzano, Fiorentino, della terra per lui scoperta in nome di sua Maestà, scritta in Dieppa à di 8 di Luglio, M.D.XXIIII.

This letter gives us little beyond the date of Verazani's first voyage.

3d. Discorso d'vn gran Capitano di Mare, Francese, del Luogo di Dieppa, sopra le nauigationi fatte alla Terra Nuova dell' Indie Occidentali, chiamata la nuova Francia, da gradi 40, fino a gradi 47 sotto il polo artico, & sopra la Terra del Brasil, Guinea, Isola di San Lorenzo, & quella di Summatra, fino alle quali hanno nauigato le Carauelle & naui Francese.

Ramusio sets a high value on this piece, and regrets that he could not learn its author.

Cartier. 4th. Prima relatione di Iacques Carthier, della Terra Nuova, detta la nuoua Francia, trouata nell' anno 1534.

This date is wrong, as Verazani's first voyage was certainly in 1523, and from the first years of the century, Bretons, Normans, and Basques carried on fisheries on the shores of Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Yet it is true that Cartier is the first who ascended the river.

5th. Breve & succinta narratione della nauigatione fatta per ordine della Maestà Christianissima all' Isole di Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenai & altre, al presente dette la nuoua Francia, con particolari costumi & cerimonie de gli habitanti.

This last article amounts to very little. Cartier had not time to study well nations whose language he did not know, and with whom he had very little intercourse. It is also very surprising that this navigator applies the name island to a country, in which he had ascended a river like the St. Lawrence for one hundred and eighty leagues. One of his works was printed at Rouen, in 1598, in 8vo., with this title: *Discovrs dv Voyage fait par le Capitaine Jaques Cartier aux terres-neufues de Canadas, Norembergue, Hochelage, Labrador, & pays adjacens, dite nouuelle France, auec particulieres mœurs, langage et ceremonies des habitans d'icelle. A Rouen, de l'imprimerie de Raphaël du Petit Val., &c.* M.D.XC.VIII.

HISTORIA NATVRAL Y MORAL DE LAS INDIAS, EN QVE SE TRATAN LAS COSAS notables del cielo, y elementos, metales, plantas y animales dellas: y los ritos y ceremonias, leyes y gouierno y guerras de los Indios. Compuesta por el Padre Ioseph de Acosta, Religioso de la Compañia de Iesus. Dirigida à la Serenissima Infanta Doña Isabela Clara Eugenia de Austria. 8o. Año 1608. Impressa en Madrid en casa de Alonso Martin. DE ACOSTA. 1608.

I have spoken of this highly esteemed author only in regard to the origin of the Americans.

HISTOIRE DE LA NOUVELLE FRANCE, CONTENANT LES NAVIGATIONS, DÉcouvertes & habitations faites par les François ès Indes Occidentales & Nouvelle France sous l'aveu & autorité de nos Rois Très Chrétiens, and les nouvelles fortunes d'iceux en l'execution de ces choses depuis cent ans jusqu' à hui: en quoi est comprise l'Histoire morale, naturelle et géographique de la dite Province, avec les tables & figures d'icelle, par Marc Lescarbot, Avocat en Parlement, témoin oculaire d'une partie des choses y recitées. A Paris, chez Jean Milet, sur les dégrés de la grand' Sale du Palais. 1609. 8o. LESCARBOT. 1609.

This author has collected with much care all that had been written before him touching the first discoveries of the French in America; all that occurred in French Florida; the expedition of the Chevalier de Villegagnon to Brazil; and the first settlement of Acadia by Mr. de Monts. He seems sincere, well informed, sensible, and impartial.

LES VOYAGES DE LA NOVVELLE FRANCE OCCIDENTALE, DICTE CANADA, faits par le Sr de Champlain, Xaintongeois, Capitaine pour le Roy en la Marine du Ponant, & toutes les Descouvertes, qu'il a faites en ce païs depuis l'an 1603. jusques en l'an 1629. Où se voit comme ce pays a esté prémièrement descouvert par les François sous l'authorité de nos Roys très-Chrestiens jusques au regne de sa Majesté à present regnante Lovis XIII., Roy de France & de Nauarre, auec vn traitté des qualitez & conditions requises à vn bon and parfaict Nauigateur, pour cognoistre la diuersité des Estimes, qui se font en la nauigation; Les Marques & enseignemens, que la Prouidence de Dieu à mises dans les Mers pour redresser les Mariniers en leur routte, sans lesquelles ils tomberoient en de grand dangers, Et la maniere de bien dresser Cartes Marines, auec leurs Ports, Rades, Isles, Sondes, & autre chose necessaire à la Nauigation. Ensemble vne carte generalle de la description dudit pays faicte en son Meridien, selon la declinaison de la guide Aymant & vn Catechisme ou Instruction traduicte du François au langage des Peuples Sauuages de quelque contrée, auec ce qui s'est passée en la dite Nouuelle France, en l'anne 1631. A Monseignevr le Cardinal Dvc de Richelieu. A Paris: chez Pierre le-Mvr dans la Grand' Salle du Palais. M.DC.XXXII. 4°. CHAMPLAIN. 1613, 1620, 1632.

CHAMPLAIN. Mr. de Champlain is properly the founder of New France, as he it was who built the city of Quebec. He was the first governor of that colony, in the establishment of which he bestowed incalculable exertions. He was an able navigator, a man of talent and energy, disinterested, full of zeal for religion and his country. He can be reproached only with an over credulity in the stories told him, which did not, however, lead him into any important error. His memoirs are excellent in substance, as well as for the simple and natural form in which they are written. He relates scarcely any thing that he did not see himself, or receive from the direct accounts of trustworthy persons ; such as what he relates, in a briefer style than Lescarbot, of the expeditions of de Ribaut, de Laudonniere, and the Chevalier de Gourgues to French Florida.

He published his first voyage in 1613, in a quarto volume, divided into two books, and printed at Paris by Jean Berjon. In 1620 he gave a continuation in a small octavo, printed at Paris by C. Collet. Finally, in the edition of which I have just given the title, he resumes the whole history from the first discovery by Verazani to 1631. He adds a treatise on navigation, the duty of a good mariner, and the Jesuit Father Ledesma's Abridgment of the Christian Doctrine, translated into Huron by Father John de Brebeuf, with the French beside it.

MERCURE FRANÇOIS. 1626, 1628, 1632, 1633. In the *Mercure François* for the year 1626 (vol. xiii., p. 1), is a letter of Father Charles Lallemant, written from Quebec August 1, 1626, in which that missionary gives a brief and very exact notice of that country, in which the Jesuits had but just begun their labors.

In that of 1628, the erection of a new company for the Canada trade, and the revocation of the articles granted to the Sieur de Caën. This is what is called the Company of the Hundred Associates, who had at their head Cardinal Richelieu.

In that of 1632 there is *Relation du voyage fait en Canada pour la prise de possession du Fort de Quebec.* The English had conquered Quebec and all Canada in 1629. They restored it in 1632, and the French were put in possession again the same year. This relation contains quite interesting details.

In that of 1633 is *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle*

France, ou Canada; and, *Autre relation du voyage du Sieur de Champlain a la nouuelle France ou Canada l'an* 1633.

BRIEVE RELATION DV VOYAGE DE LA NOVVELLE FRANCE, FAIT AU MOIS d'auril dernier, par le P. Pavl le Ievne, de la Compagnie de Iesus. A Paris, chez Sebastien Cramoisy, Imprimeur de Roy. 1632. A thin octavo. FATHER LE JEUNE. 1632.

This is the first of the relations on New France which the Jesuits continued to publish from this year to 1672. As these fathers were scattered among all the nations with whom the French had any intercourse, and their missions obliged them to enter into all the affairs of the colony, we may say that their memoirs contain a very detailed history. There is indeed no other source to which we can resort to learn the progress of religion among the Indians, and to know those nations, all whose languages they spoke. The style of these relations is extremely simple, but this very simplicity has contributed to give them a great vogue, not less than the curious and edifying matter with which they are filled. JESUIT RELATIONS. 1633–1672

NOVVS ORBIS, SEU DESCRIPTIONIS INDIÆ OCCIDENTALIS, LIBRI XVIII. Authore Ioanne de Laët Antverpiensi, Novis Tabulis Geographicis, et variis Animantium, Plantarum, Fructuumque Iconibus illustrati. Lugd. Batav. apud Elzevirios. 1633. Folio. DE LAET 1633.

This work, which was ere long translated into French and published by the same Elzevirs in 1640, is full of excellent research, as well in regard to the European settlements in America as in regard to natural history and the character and manners of the Americans. The author has followed the best sources. He was moreover a man of ability, evincing everywhere great discernment and sound criticism, except in some places, where he consulted only Protestant authors, and yields too much to religious prejudice.

He treats in the second book of the Island of Newfoundland, the Grand Bank, Sable Island, Cape Breton, now Isle Royale, which he calls Island of St. Lawrence, or of the Bretons; of the other islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and especially of Anticosty, of the port of Tadoussac, and the Saguenay River; of the great river of Canada, or the St. Lawrence, of which he gives a description quite exact for the time; of the city of Quebec, of the Indians then best known; of Acadia, of all the

De Laet. southern coast of New France, and of all that occurred in that country up to his time between the French and English.

In the fourth book he gives quite a good description of Florida, drawn mainly from the annals of Anthony de Herrera. He recounts all the attempts of the Spaniards to settle there under John Ponce de Leon, the licentiate Vazquez de Ayllon, Pamphilo de Narvaez, Hernando de Soto, and Louis de Moscoso; the expeditions of the French to that part of Florida now occupied by the English and Spaniards; the settlement of St. Augustine by Peter Menendez, after that general had expelled the French from Florida, and the resistance which he had to make to the attack of the English under Sir Francis Drake.

Sagard. 1636. Histoire du Canada, & Voyages, que les Freres Mineurs Recollects y ont faicts pour la conuersion des Infidelles. Divisez en quatre liures. Où est amplement traicté des choses principales arriuées dans le pays depuis l'an 1615 iusques à la prise, qui en a esté faicte par les Anglois. Des biens & commoditez qu'on en peut esperer. Des mœurs, ceremonies, creance, loix & coustumes merueilleuses de ses habitans. De la conuersion & baptesme de plusieurs, & des moyens necessaires pour les amener à la cognoissance de Dieu. L'entretien ordinaire de nos Mariniers, & autres particularitez, qui se remarquent en la suite de l'histoire. Fait & composé par le F. Gabriel Sagard Théodat, Mineur Recollect de la Prouince de Paris. A Paris, chez Claude Sonnius. M.DC.XXXVI.

The author of this work spent some time among the Hurons, and relates naively all that he saw and heard on the spot, but he had not time to see things well enough, still less to verify all that was told him. The Huron vocabulary which he has left us, proves that neither he nor any of those whom he consulted was well versed in that language, which is a very difficult one; consequently that the conversions of the Indians were not very numerous in his time. In other respects he seems a very judicious man, zealous not only for the salvation of souls, but also for the progress of a colony which he almost saw begin, and saw nearly annihilated in its origin by the English invasion. He gives us, on the whole, few interesting facts.

Grotius. 1642–1643. Hvgonis Grotii Dissertatio De Origine Gentivm Americanarvm. 1642. 4o.

The views of Grotius were not approved, and the next year a criticism appeared under the title—

Joannis de Laet Antverpiensis Notæ ad dissertationem Hugonis Grotii de origine Gentium Americanarum, & observationes aliquot ad meliorem indaginem difficillimæ hujus quæstionis. Parisiis, apud Viduam Gulielmi Pelé, viâ Jacobeâ, sub signo Crucis Aureæ. 1643. Laet. 1643–1644.

John de Laet does not confine himself to censuring Grotius, he cites the opinions of the Spanish Jesuit Father Joseph de Acosta, of Mark Lescarbot, and of Edward Brerewood, an Englishman, on the same subject, and refutes them all.

Grotius replied with hauteur, and the same year published this reply, entitled:

Hugonis Grotii de Origine Gentium Americanarum dissertatio altera adversus obtrectatorem. Parisiis apud Sebastianum Cramoisy, Architypographum Regium, viâ Jacobæa, sub Ciconiis. 1643.

Laet replied in 1644, by a treatise entitled:

Joannis de Laet Antwerpiani responsio ad dissertationem secundam Hvgonis Grotii de origine Gentium Americanarum, cum indice ad utrumque libellum. Amstelrodami, apud Ludovicum Elzevirium. CIↃ.IↃ.CXLIV.

The same year there appeared at Paris a little work with this title:

Animadversio Joannis B. Poissonis, Andegavi, ad ea, quæ celeberrimi viri Hugo Grotius & Joannis Lahetius de origine gentium Peruvianarum & Mexicanarum scripserunt; sive Prodromus Commentarii in decimum-octavum caput Esaiæ. Paris. 1644. Poisson. 1644.

But this publication is very unimportant.

Les voyages fameux du Sieur Vincent le Blanc, Marseillois qu'il a fait depuis l'age de douze ans jusqu' a soixante aux quatre parties du monde; à scavoir aux Indes Orientales & Occidentales, en Perse & Pegu; aux royaumes de Fez, de Maroc, and de Guinée, & dans toute l'Afrique intérieure, depuis le Cap de Bonne-Esperance jusques en Alexandrie, par les terres de Monomotapa, du Prête-Jan, & de l'Egypte; aux Isles de la Mediterranée, & aux principales Provinces de l'Europe, &c., rédigés fidèlement sur ses Memoires & Registres, tirés de la Bibliothèque de M. de Peiresc, Conseiller au Parlement de Provence, & enrichis de tres-curieuses Observations, par Pierre Bergeron, Parisien. A Paris chez Gervais Clousier, au Palais, sur les dégrés de la Sainte Chapelle. 1648. 4o. Le Blanc. 1644.

In the third part of this work he speaks of almost all the countries of which I give the history, but in very few words, and in a confused, inexact, and immethodical manner.

HORNIUS. 1652. GEORGI HORNI DE ORIGINIBVS AMERICANIS, LIBRI QUATUOR, HAGÆ Comitis, sumptibus Adriani Vlacq. CIↃ.IↃ.CLII.

This author refutes quite ably the opinion of those who had treated this subject before him, but to establish his own system he runs into such frivolous and improbable conjectures as to cause surprise that they could emanate from the head of a man who shows much ability in his work.

BRESSANI. 1653. BREVE RELATIONE D'ALCVNE MISSIONI DE' PP. DELLA COMPAGNIA DI Giesù nella Nuoua Francia del P. Francesco Gioseppe Bressani della medesima Compagnia, all' Eminentiss. Reverendiss. Sig. Card: de Lugo. In Macerata, Per gli Heredi d'Agostino Grisci. 1653. 4o.

Father Bressani, a Roman by birth, was one of the most illustrious missionaries of Canada, where he suffered a severe captivity and unheard of torments. He speaks little of himself in his History, which is well written ; but is confined mainly to the Huron mission, in which he labored with much zeal as long as it subsisted. After the almost complete extermination of that nation, and the scattering of what was left, he returned to Italy, where he preached till his death, with the more fruit, inasmuch as he bore on his mutilated hands glorious marks of his apostolate among the heathen.

BOUCHET. 1664. HISTOIRE VÉRITABLE ET NATURELLE DES MŒURS ET PRODUCTIONS DU Pays de la Nouvelle France, vulgairement ditte le Canada. A Paris chez Florentin Lambert rue S. Jacques à l'Image S. Paul. Small 12o.

The author of this little work is not the Jesuit Father Pierre Boucher, as the Abbé Lenglet du Fresnoy supposed, but the Sieur Pierre Boucher, Governor of Three Rivers, one of the first settlers of New France, where, imitating the simplicity and piety of the patriarchs, he participated in the blessings which God bestowed upon them, having seen his numerous and flourishing posterity to the fifth generation. He died nearly a centenarian ; and his widow, who survived him some years, saw her grandchildren's grandchildren. He was deputed to the Court to represent the spiritual and temporal wants of the colony ; and during this voyage to Europe, he printed the little relation in question, which contains only a quite superficial but very faithful account of Canada.

HISTORIÆ CANADENSIS, SEU NOVÆ FRANCIÆ LIBRI DECEM AD ANNUM VSQUE M.DC.LVI. Authore P. Francisco Crevxio è Societate Iesu. Parisiis, Apud Sebastianum Cramoisy, & Sebast. Mabre-Cramoisy, Typographos Regis, viâ Jacobæa, sub Ciconijs. M.DC.LXIV. 4o. DU CREUX. 1664.

This extremely diffuse work was composed almost exclusively from the Jesuit Relations. Father Du Creux did not reflect that details read with pleasure in a letter become insupportable in a continuous history, especially when they have lost all the charm of novelty.

CLAROS VARONES DE LA COMPANIA DE JESUS EN SANTIDAD LETRAS Y Zelo de las Almas, por el Padre Alonzo de Andrada, de la Misma Compañia. Madrid. 1666. Folio. ANDRADA. 1666.

In the two volumes of this work, mention is made of almost all the Jesuits who sacrificed their lives for the salvation of the nations of Canada, but very briefly and without detail. This is not the case with the following :

MORTES ILLUSTRES ET GESTA EORUM, DE SOCIETATE JESU, QUI EN ODIUM Fidei ab Ethnicis, Hæreticis, vel aliis igne, ferro, aut morte aliâ necati, ærumnisve confecti sunt ; Autore Philippo Alegambe, Bruxellensi ; ex eâdem Societate. Extremos aliquot annos, mortesque illustres, usque annum 1664 adjecit Joannes Nadasi, ejusdem Societatis Jesu. Romæ. 1667. Folio. ALEGAMBE NADASI. 1667.

All these lives are methodically written from good sources ; several are even quite detailed. They comprise sketches of almost all the Jesuits who met a violent death in the exercise of their ministry in Canada.

DESCRIPTION GÊOGRAPHIQUE & HISTORIQUE DES COSTES DE L'AMÉRIQVE Septentrionale, avec l'Histoire naturelle du Païs. Par Monsieur Denys, Gouverneur, Lieutenant Général pour le Roy, & propriétaire de toutes les Terres & Isles, qui sont depuis le Cap de Campseaux, jusques au Caps des Roziers. A Paris chez Claude Barbin. 1672. 2 volume. 12o. DENYS. 1672.

The author of this work was a man of merit, who would have founded a good colony in New France had he not been traversed in his projects. He tells nothing but what he saw himself. He gives us in his first volume a very exact description of the whole country which extends from the river Pentagoët (Penobscot), following the coast to Cape des Rosieres, which is the southerly point of the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. The second

Denys. volume comprises the natural history of the same country, and especially all that regards the Cod-fishery. The historian describes briefly the Indians of these parts, the nature and resources of the country, the animals, rivers, quality of the woods. He adds some historical sketches of the settlements of those who shared with him the ownership and government of Acadia and its neighborhood.

Hudson. 1673. Descriptio et delineatio geographica detectionis Freti sive transitus ad occasum supra terras Americanas in Chinam inventi ab Henrico Hudson. Amstelodami. 1673. 4o.

The author, as it appears by the title of this work, flattered himself that a passage to China had been found through Hudson's Strait. Time showed that he was far out in his reckoning.

Tanner. 1673. Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis profusionem in Europe, Asia, Africâ, & Americâ militans, sive vita et mortes eorum, qui in causâ fidei interempti sunt, cum iconibus singulorum. Autore Mathiâ Tannero S. J. Pragæ. 1673. Folio.

This work contains a more abridged biography, or rather eulogy, of some of the same Canada missionaries, of whom Fathers Alegambe and Nadasi have treated more fully and historically.

Societe de Montreal. 1674. Motifs de la Societe de Montreal. A Paris. 1674. 4°, without printer's name.

This tract sets forth the motives which induced several persons of piety to found a colony at Montreal, having for its main object the conversion of the Indians, and the preservation of those already Christians.

DomClaude Martin. 1677. La Vie de la Vénérable Mere Marie de l'Incarnation, premiere Supérieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle France, tirée de ses lettres et de ses écrits. A Paris chez Louys Billaine. 1677. 4o.

The author is Dom Claude Martin, son of Mother Mary of the Incarnation. His work has no fault, but its containing many things foreign to the subject. This led me, in 1724, to publish a new life of this excellent religious, who was styled the Saint Teresa of France, and of whom we have several works This new life was printed at Paris, by Briasson, in octavo. In

both works, it is almost always Mother Mary of the Incarnation, who relates all that passed in her communion with God, and who narrates the events of her life somewhat in the style of St. Teresa. Dom Claude Martin.

Lettres de la Mere Marie de l'Incarnation, premiere supérieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle France. A Paris, chez Louys Billaine. 1681. 4o. Marie de l'Incarnation. 1681.

These letters, which are well written and worthy of the great reputation of this admirable woman for holiness, talent, and ability in all kinds of affairs, and especially in spiritual life, contain many historical facts which happened during the thirty-two years which she lived in Canada, where she landed in 1640.

Histoire de la Conquete de la Floride par un Gentilhomme de la Ville d'Elvas, traduite en François par M. Citry de la Guette. Paris. 1685. Citry de la Guette. 1685.

This work contains about the same as that of Garcilasso de la Vega, mentioned above, and is not less esteemed. The translation is much esteemed.

Voyage et Découverte de quelque Pays et Nations de l'Amérique Septentrionale. Marquette. 1687.

This is the Jesuit Father Marquette's journal of his voyage down the Mississippi, when he discovered that great river with the Sieur Joliet, in 1673. It is to be found in a *Recueil des Voyages de M. Thevenot dédié au Roy, & imprimé à Paris chez Thomas Moette, rue de la vieille Bouclerie à S. Michel.* 1681. 4o.

Description de la Louisiane nouvellement decouverte au Sud-oüest de la N. France, par ordre du Roy, avec la Carte du Pays: Les Mœurs & la Maniere de vivre des Sauvages. Dédiée a sa majesté par le R. P. Louis Hennepin, Missionaire Recollet & Notaire Apostolique. A Paris chez Amable Auroy, rue S. Jacques à l'Image S. Jerôme. 1683. 12o. Hennepin. 1683, 1687, 1698.

Father Hennepin had been greatly attached to M. de la Sale, and followed him to the Illinois, whence that voyager sent him with the Sieur Dacan to ascend the Mississippi. This voyage he here describes. The title of the work is not just; for the country discovered, by the Recollect and the Sieur Dacan ascending the river from the Illinois to Sault St. Anthony, is

HENNEPIN. not Louisiana, but New France. The title of a second work of Father Hennepin, which is in the *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, Vol. V., is not more so. It reads :

VOYAGE EN UN PAYS PLUS GRAND QUE L'EUROPE ENTRE LA MER GLACIALE et le Nouveau Mexique.

For, far as they may have ascended the Mississippi, they were still far distant from the Arctic Sea. When the author published this second relation he had broken with de la Sale. It seems even that he was forbidden to return to America, and his displeasure at this induced him to go to Holland, where he printed a third work, entitled

NOUVELLE DESCRIPTION D'UN TRES GRAND PAYS SITUÉ DANS L'AMÉRIQUE entre le Nouveau Mexique & la Mer glaciale, depuis l'an 1670 jusqu'en 1682, avec des Reflexions sur les entreprises de M. Cavalier de la Sale, & autres choses concernant la description & l'Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale. Utrecht. 1697. 12o.

It was reprinted the next year, at the same place, in two volumes, with the title

VOYAGE, OU DÉCOUVERTE D'UN TRÈS GRAND PAYS, &c.

Both are merely enlarged editions of the author's second work. He vents his chagrin not only on the Sieur de la Sale, but on France also, by which he deemed himself ill used, and he tries to save his credit by declaring himself a born subject of the Catholic king. But he should have remembered that it was at the expense of France that he travelled in America, and that it was in the name of the most Christian king that he and the Sieur Dacan took possession of the countries which they had discovered. He does not even hesitate to aver that it was with the consent of the Catholic king, his first sovereign, that he dedicated his book to William III., King of England, and that he solicited that monarch to effect the conquest of those vast tracts, send colonies there, and have the gospel preached to the heathen. This step, which scandalized the Catholics, and made even Protestants laugh, surprised to see a religious, calling himself Missionary and Apostolic Prothonotary, exhort a Protestant prince to found a church in the New World. All these works are written in a declamatory style,

offensive by its inflation, and revolting by the liberties which the author takes, and by his indecent invectives. As to substance, Father Hennepin believed himself entitled to take a traveller's license; he is accordingly much decried in Canada, his fellow-travellers often protesting that he was any thing but truthful in his accounts. HENNEPIN

ESTAT PRESENT DE L'EGLISE & DE LA COLONIE FRANÇOISE DANS LA NOUVELLE FRANCE, par M. l'Eveque de Quebec. A Paris, chez Robert Pepie, ruë St. Jacques à S. Basile. M.D.C.LXXXVIII. 8o. M. DE S. VALIER. 1688.

Mr. de St. Valier, having been appointed to the See of Quebec, vacant by the resignation of Mgr. de Laval, wished, before his consecration, to know his diocese, and embarked for Canada in 1685. He returned to France the next year, and drew up an account of his voyage in letter form, in which he represented the actual state of New France. This work is well written, and worthy of its author, who governed this church for more than forty years, and left there illustrious marks of his charity, piety, disinterestedness and zeal.

PREMIER ETABLISSEMENT DE LA FOY DANS LA NOUVELLE FRANCE, CONtenant la publication de l'Evangile, l'Histoire des Colonies Françoises, & les fameuses découvertes depuis le Fleuve de Saint Laurent, la Loüisiane, & le Fleuve Colbert, jusqu'au Golphe Mexique, achevées sous la conduite de feu Monsieur de la Salle. Par ordre du Roy. Avec les victoires remportées en Canada par les armes de sa Majesté sur les Anglois & les Iroquois en 1690. Dédié à Monsieur le Comte de Frontenac, Gouverneur & Lieutenant General de la Nouvelle France; par le Père Chrestien le Clercq, Missionnaire Recollet de la Province de Saint Antoine de Pade en Artois, Gardien des Recollets de Lens. A Paris, chez Amable Auroy, ruë Saint Jacques, attenant la Fontaine S. Severin à l'Image Saint Jerôme. M.DC.XCI. 2 vols. 12o. LE CLERCQ. 1691.

This work, in which there is reason to believe that the Count de Frontenac had a hand, is generally pretty well written, although there is a prevalent strain of declamation, which does not prepossess you in the author's favor. Father le Clercq touches on religious affairs, almost only in so far as the religious of his order are concerned; on the history of the colony, only where it relates to Count de Frontenac; and on only those discoveries where his fellow-religious accompanied the Sieur de la Sale.

Le Clercq. Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspesie, qui contient les mœurs & la Religion des Sauvages Gaspesiens Porte-Croix, adorateurs du Soleil, & d'autres Peuples de l'Amerique Septentrionale, dite le Canada. Dédiée à Madame la Princesse d'Epinoy, par le Père Chrestien le Clercq, Missionnaire Recollet de la Province de Saint Antoine de Pade en Artois, & Gardien du Couvent de Lens. A Paris, chez Amable Auroy, ruë S. Jacques à l'image S. Jerome attenant la Fontaine S. Severin. 1691. 12o.

A desert coast, some small islands and fishing harbors—Indians who come and go from Acadia and its environs—such is Gaspesia and the Gaspesians, whom our author styles Porte Croix, on a false tradition ; and it is not wherewith to fill up a volume of six hundred pages with very interesting matter.

La Hontan. 1705. Nouveaux Voyages de Mr. le Baron de la Hontan dans l'Amerique Septentrionale, qui contiennent une Relation des differens Peuples, qui y habitent; la nature de leur Gouvernement, leur Commerce, leur Coutumes, leur Religion, & leur maniere de faire la Guere. L'intérêt des François & des Anglois dans le Commerce, qu'ils font avec ces Nations; l'avantage, que l'Angleterre peut retirer dans ce Païs, étant en guerre avec la France. Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de figures. A la Haye, chez les Frères l'Honoré, Marchands Libraire. M.DCCIII. 12o.

Memoires de l'Amerique Septentrionale, ou la suite des Voyages de Mr. le Baron de la Hontan : Qui contiennent la Description d'une grande étendüe de Païs de ce Continent, l'intérêt des François & des Anglois, leur Commerces, leur Navigations, les Mœurs & les Coutumes des Sauvages, &c. Avec un petit Dictionnaire de la Langue du Païs. Seconde édition, augmentée des conversations de l'auteur avec un Sauvage distingué. A Amsterdam, chez François l'Honoré. MDCCV 1 vol. 12o.

The author, although a man of family, was at first a soldier in Canada. He was then made an officer ; and, having been sent to Newfoundland as Lieutenant de Roy of Placentia, he quarrelled with the governor, was broken, and retired first to Portugal, then to Denmark. The great liberty which he gives his pen has contributed greatly to make his book read and sought with avidity wherever people were not sufficiently versed to know that the truth is there so confounded with the false, that it is necessary to be well versed in Canadian history to disentangle it, and that it consequently teaches the well-informed nothing, and can only throw others into error. In fact, almost all the proper names are distorted, most of the

facts disfigured, and entire episodes are pure fiction ; such as, for instance, the voyage up Long River, which is as fabulous as the island of Barataria, of which Sancho Panza was governor. Nevertheless, in France and elsewhere, most people have regarded these memoirs as the fruit of the travels of a gentleman who wrote badly, although quite lightly, and who had no religion, but who described pretty sincerely what he had seen. The consequence is, that the compilers of historical and geographical dictionaries have almost always followed and cited them in preference to more faithful memoirs, which they did not take pains to consult. The work was treated with more justice in Canada, where the author passes generally as a romancer. LA HONTAN.

In this edition is omitted the voyage to Portugal and Denmark, in which the Baron de la Hontan shows himself as bad a Frenchman as he is a Christian. His embarrassed and often barbarous style has also been retouched. Yet it is still far from being a well-written work. It is perhaps the conformity of style noted between this and Geudreville's Atlas, which has led to the belief that it passed through the hands of this renegade monk. The dictionary of the language of the country, announced in the title, as though there were only one language in Canada, is only a very poor vocabulary of the Algonquin language ; and the conversations with the Indian Adario are only an artifice of the author, who wished to give us his views on religion.

HISTORIÆ SOCIETATIS JESU PARS QUINTA, TOMUS POSTERIOR AB ANNO Christi 1591, ad annum 1616. Auctore Josepho Juvencio, Societatis ejusdem Sacerdote. Romæ. 1710. Folio. JOUVENCY. 1710.

In this work there is nothing bearing on my history, except the expedition of the Jesuits to Acadia and Pentagoet, in 1611. It is in book XV., at the end of which the author gives a brief notice of Canada and the Indians, drawn from the Jesuit Relations.

JOURNAL HISTORIQUE DU DERNIER VOYAGE, QUE FEU M. DE LA SALE FIT dans le Golfe de Mexique, pour trouver l'embouchure & le cours de la Riviere de Missicipi, nommé à present la Riviere de Saint Louïs, qui traverse la Louisiane. Où l'on voit l'Histoire tragique de sa mort, & JOUTEL. 1713.

JOUTEL. plusieurs choses curieuses du nouveau monde, par Monsieur Joutel, l'un des Compagnons de ce voyage, redigé & mis en ordre, par Monsieur de Michel. A Paris, chez Estienne Robinot, Libraire, Quay & attenant la Porte des Grands Augustins, à l'Ange Gardien. MDCCXIII. 12o.

I saw Mr. Joutel at Rouen in 1723. He was a very upright man, and the only one of La Sale's party on whom that explorer could rely. Joutel accordingly rendered him important services. He complained that in retouching his work they had somewhat altered it; but it does not appear that they made any essential changes.

LETTRES EDIFIANTES. LETTRES EDIFIANTES ET CURIEUSES ÉCRITTES DES MISSIONS ETRANGERES par quelques Missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus. vols. 12o.

In the tenth volume (Paris, Jean Barbou, ruë St. Jacques aux Cigognes, 1712), is a letter of Father Gabriel Marêt, wherein he describes his voyage to Hudson's Bay, in 1694, with Mr. d'Iberville, and this letter contains several particulars as to those northern parts.

In the eleventh (Paris, Nicolas le Clerc, ruë St. Jacques, 1715), is a letter of the same missionary, dated November 9, 1712, from the Illinois country. It contains several details as to the settlement of the French, and the progress of Christianity among the Indians, a part of whom were then on the Mississippi.

In the twelfth (same, 1717), is a letter of Father le Cholenec, missionary among the Iroquois, on the life and sanctity of Catharine Tegahkouita, an Iroquois Virgin, surnamed *la Bonne Cätherine*, whose tomb became renowned for a great number of miracles.

In the thirteenth (same, 1720), is another letter of Father le Cholenec, where this missionary relates the precious death of some Iroquois neophytes of both sexes, who endured the most frightful torments and shed their blood for Christ.

In the seventeenth (same, and le Mercier, fils, 1736), is a letter of Father Sebastian Rasle, written from the mission of Narantsoaak, where there is a curious detailed account of what passed between the English and the Abenaki Indians in regard to the treaty of Utrecht, down to the death of that missionary,

who had already been killed by the English when the letter reached France. Another letter of Father de la Chasse, Superior-General of the Missions of the Society of Jesus in New France, dated Quebec, October 29, 1724, and inserted in the same volume, gives the circumstances of this death. LETTRES EDIFIANTES.

The twentieth volume, issued by the same publishers in 1731, informs us, in the dedicatory epistle of Father du Halde, and in a letter of Father le Petit, Superior of the Jesuits in Louisiana, of the death of two Jesuit missionaries, massacred by the Yazoos and Natchez, with a great number of the French. Father le Petit also gives quite a detailed account of the Natchez tribe.

In the twenty-third (G. le Mercier, ruë St. Jacques au Livre d'or, 1738), is a letter of Father Rasle, written some time before his death, where he relates several manners and customs of various Indian nations among whom he had lived.

RECUEIL DE VOYAGES AU NORD, CONTENANT DIVERS MÉMOIRES TRÈS utiles au Commerce & à la Navigation. A Amsterdam, chez Jean Frédéric Bernard. 1715. 3 vols. 12o. Reprinted by the same, with an addition of five other volumes. VOYAGES AU NORD. 1715–1724.

With regard to the subjects treated by me, we find in the third volume :

1. RELATION DE TERRE NEUVE TRADUITE DE L'ANGLOIS DE WHITE, enrichie d'une très belle carte de Guillaume de l'Isle de tout l'hemisphère septentrionale.

This relation is very instructive on the cod-fisheries, which constitute the sole wealth of Newfoundland. The writer then treats of Isle Royale, now called Cape Breton Island, but he does not seem well informed.

2. MEMOIRE TOUCHANT TERRE NEUVE & LE GOLFE DE S. LAURENT, extrait des meilleurs Journaux de Mer, par l'Auteur de la Relation précédente.

This memoir is also accompanied by a map, and is really only a routier, where the lay of the land seems exactly marked out.

The entire fifth volume bears on my history, but I have not derived much assistance from it. It comprises :

Voyages au Nord.

1. Relation de la Louisiane, ou Micissipi.

Addressed to a lady by a naval officer, a very honest man, who says little but what he saw or learned on the spot; but he had not time to inform himself thoroughly on the nature of the country, still less on the history of the colony.

2. Relation de la Louysiane, ou du Micissipi, par le Chevalier de Tonti, Gouverneur du Fort de S. Louys aux Illinois.

This author was most capable of giving us authentic memoirs on this colony, in founding which he labored beyond all others; but he disavowed this relation, which would, in no sense, reflect credit upon him.

3. Voyage en un Pays plus grand que l'Europe, &c.

I have already spoken of this work of Father Hennepin.

4. Relation des voyages de Gosnold, Pringe et Gilbert à la Virginie en 1602 & 1603.

This is only a naval journal, which may be of some use to navigators.

5. Relation du Detroit & de la Baye d'Hudson, à Monsieur * * par Monsieur Jérémie.

I knew the author, a very honest man and skilful voyageur. It was he who, after the peace of Utrecht, delivered up to the English Fort Bourbon, or Port Nelson, in Hudson's Bay, which he had commanded for six years. His Relation is very instructive, and judiciously written.

6. Les trois Navigations du Chevalier Martin Frobisher.

This navigator was sent by Queen Elizabeth of England to discover a northern passage to Japan and China. To accomplish it, he made, at great expense, three attempts, all without result beyond the discovery of some countries north of Hudson's Bay.

La Potherie. 1722.

Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale. Divisée en quatres tomes. . . . par Mr. de Bacqueville de la Potherie, né à la Guadaloupe dans l'Amérique Méridionale, Aide Major de la dite Isle. A Paris, chez Jean Luc Nion, au premier Pavillon des quatre Nations, à Ste Monique et François Didot, à l'entrée du Quai des Augustins à la Bible d'or M.DCC.XXII. 4 vols. 12o. Plates.

This work, written in the form of letters, except the second, which is divided into chapters, contains quite undigested and ill-written material on a good portion of Canadian history. What the author relates as an eye-witness may be relied upon; he seems sincere and unimpassioned, but as to other matters he has not been always well informed. La Potherie.

Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps. Par le P. Lafitau de la Compagnie de Jesus. Ouvrage enrichi de figures en taille-douce. A Paris, chez Saugrain l'ainé & Charles Estienne Hochereau. MDCCXXIV. 2 vols. 4o. Lafitau. 1723.

The next year the same work was very poorly reprinted in four volumes, 12o, at Rouen, by the same publishers. It contains many details on the manners, customs, and religion of the American Indians, especially those of Canada, whom the author knew more intimately, having been a missionary among the Iroquois. We have nothing more exact on this subject. The parallel between ancient nations and the Americans is very ingenious, and shows a great familiarity with antiquity.

Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia general de la Florida. Contiene los Descubrimientos, y principales sucesos, acaecidos en este Gran Reino, à los Españoles, Franceses, Suecos, Dinamarqueses, Ingleses, y otras Naciones, entre sì, y con los Indios: cuias Costumbres, Genios, Idolatria, Govierno, Batallas, y Astucias, se refieren: y los Viages de algunos Capitanes, y Pilotos, por el Mar de el Norte, à buscar Paso à Oriente, à vnion de aquella Tierra, con Asia. Desde el año 1512 que descubriò la Florida, Juan Ponce de Leon, hasta el de 1722. Escrito por Don Gabriel de Cardenas Z Cano. Dedicado al Principe, nuestro Señor. Con Privilegio: En Madrid en la Oficina Real y à costa de Nicolas Rodriguez Franco, Impresor de Libros. Año CIↃ.IↃ.CCXXIIJ. Folio. Barcia. 1723.

The author's name on the title-page is fictitious. The work is by D. André Gonzales de Barcia, of the Spanish Academy, Auditor of the Supreme Council of War, and President of the Chamber, one of the most learned men of Spain. As he comprises under the name of Florida all the mainland and adjacent islands of North America, from the river Panuco, which bounds Mexico on the East, he relates year by year all that happened in those vast countries from 1512 to 1712, and consequently speaks of all the provinces of which I give the history.

Salazar. 1729. Chrysis del Ensayo Cronologico para la historia general de la Florida, por un Forastero. En Alcala de Henares. 1725. 4o.

This is an unmeasured criticism on the preceding work. The author sometimes censures justly, but he seems piqued, and does not spare terms. This author, disguised under the name of "a Foreigner," is Don Joseph de Salazar, Knight of Santiago, of the Council of the King's Orders, Historiographer of Spain and the Indies.

Garcia. Barcia. 1729. Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo Mundo, e Indias Occidentales, averiguado con discurso de opiniones, por el Padre presentado Fr. Gregorio Garcia, de la Orden de Predicadores. Tratanse en este Libro varias cosas y puntos curiosos, tocantes a diversas Ciencias y Facultades, con que se hace varia historia de mucho gusto para el ingenio y entendimiento de Hombres agudos, y curiosos. Segunda impresion. Enmendada y añadida de algunas opiniones, ò cosas notables, en maior prueba de lo que contiene, con Tres Tablas mui puntuales de los Capitulos, de las Materias, y Autores, que las tratan. Dirigido al Angelico Doct. Sto. Thomas de Aquino. Con Privilegio real. En Madrid, en la imprenta de Francisco Martinez Abad. Año de 1729. Folio.

The work of Father Garcia, printed at Valencia, in Spain, in 1607, in 1 vol., 4to, becomes, with the additions of the editor, who is the author of the *Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia general de la Florida*, a double column folio. All that has ever been imagined as to the origin of the Americans, and the manner in which this New World was peopled, is gathered here, and set forth with endless, but not always necessary, erudition.

Lenglet du Fresnoy. Methode pour étudier l'Historie, avec un catalogue des principaux Historiens & des remarques sur la bonté de leurs Ouvrages, & sur le choix des meilleurs éditions, par M. l'Abbé Lenglet du Fresnoy. Nouvelle edition, augmentée et ornée de Cartes geographiques. A Paris, chez Pierre Gandouin, Quay des Augustins, à la Belle Image 4 vols. 4o.

All that can be said of this work in regard to my subject is, that the author is any thing but familiar with the history of the New World, and those who have hitherto written of it.

Catesby. 1731. The Natural History, &c. Histoire Naturelle de la Caroline, de la Floride & des Isles Bahamas, contenant les Desseins des Oïseaux, Animaux, Poissons, Serpens, Insectes, & Plantes: & en particulier des arbres des Forêts, arbrisseaux et autres plantes, qui n'ont point été

décrites jusqu' à present par les Auteurs, ou peu exactement dessinés, avec leur description en François & en Anglois ; à quoi on a ajoûté des Observations sur l'Air, le Sel et les Eaux; avec des Remarques sur l'Agriculture, les Grains, les Légumes, les Racines, &c. Le tout est précedé d'une Carte nouvelle & exacte des Pays, dont il s'agit, par M. Catesby, de la Société Royale. Tome I. Londres, 1731, & se vend à Paris, chez Hippolyte Louis Guerin, rüe St. Jacques à St. Thomas. CATESBY.

A second volume appeared subsequently. The figures are all colored after nature. Most of the animals and plants mentioned are found in New France or Louisiana.

INTRODUCTION À L'HISTOIRE DE L'ASIE, DE L'AFRIQUE, & DE L'AMÉRIQUE, pour servir de suite à l'Introduction à l'Histoire du Baron de Pufendorf par M. Bruzen la Martiniere, Géographe de sa Majesté Catholique. A Amsterdam, chez Zacharie Châtelain. 1735. 2 vols. 12o. LA MARTINIERE 1735.

In the second volume of this continuation the author speaks with much precision and exactness of the discoveries and settlements of the French, English, Dutch, Swedes, and Danes on the islands and mainland of North America. He is, nevertheless, rather brief on the history of New France. Nor has he followed the best memoirs on the discovery of the Mississippi and the English settlements north of Canada, especially in Hudson's Bay.

MÉTHODE POUR ÉTUDIER LA GÉOGRAPHIE, OÙ L'ON DONNE UNE DESCRIPtion exacte de l'Univers, formée sur les observations de l'Académie Roïale des Sciences, avec un Discours préliminaire sur l'étude de cette science, & un catalogue des Cartes géographiques, des relations, voïages, & descriptions les plus nécessaires pour la Géographie. Par M. l'Abbé Lenglet du Fresnoy. 2nde edition. A Paris, chez Rollin fils & de Bure l'ainé, Quay des Augustins. 1736. 5 vols. 12o. LENGLET DU FRESNOY.

The execution of this work is far from meeting the promises paraded on the title, or the judicious reflections of the author in his preliminary discourse. The Abbé Lenglet du Fresnoy seems not to have even read the books on the history of the New World which he cites, nor is he always happy in the choice of those he does cite.

EPITOME DE LA BIBLIOTHECA ORIENTAL Y OCCIDENTAL, NAUTICA Y geographica de D. Antonio de Leon Pinelo, del Consejo de su Magestad en la Casa de la Contractation de Sevilla, y Coronista Mayor de las Indias, añadido y enmendado nuevamente, &c. Madrid, Francisco Martinez Abad. Calle del Olivo baxo. 1737. 2 vols. Folio, of three columns

Leon Pinelo Barcia. 1737.

The epitome of Don Antonio de Leon Pinelo was printed at Madrid, in quarto, in 1629. In his preface he declared it to be only an abridgment of a larger work, which he promised to give the public, and in which he proposed to give his views fully on all authors who have written on the Indies. The important affairs in which he was subsequently engaged apparently prevented the execution of his plan, and it was carried out only in 1737 by the learned and untiring Don André Gonzales de Barcia, except the criticism on the authors, which he did not attempt. It is astonishing that omitting this branch, the work should have grown so in his hands; but he might have spared himself at least three-fourths of the labor bestowed, by confining himself to printed or manuscript works, that one would expect to find in such a bibliotheca, omitting the word epitome, which is misapplied here. Otherwise, however, there is much system in it. The authors are easy to find in the indexes, and ranged in the body of the work under the countries of which they have spoken, but the proper names are often disfigured.

Lenglet du Fresnoy. 1736–39.

Principes de l'Histoire pour l'education par années & par leçons, par M. l'Abbé Lenglet du Fresnoy. 6 vols. 12o. 1st year, at Paris, Musier Pere, Quay des Augustins à l'Olivier, 1736; 2d and 3d year, same, 2 vols., 1737; 4th year, Rollin Fils, Quay des Augustins à St. Athanase, 1737; 5th year, de Bure l'ainé, Quay des Augustins à St. Paul, 1737. 6th year, same, 1739.

These are pretty fair abridgments of history, but for my work I found nothing in them. The author falls into fewer faults as to America, because he scarcely speaks of it, even in the last volume, which treats of ecclesiastical history, for which, nevertheless, the New World furnished sufficiently ample matter.

Nicolas Perrot.

[Memoires sur les Mœurs, Coustumes et Relligion des Sauvages de l'Amérique Septentrionale, par Nicolas Perrot, publié pour la première fois, par le R. P. J. Tailhan, de la Compagnie de Jésus. Leipzig & Paris. Librairie A. Franck. Albert L. Herold, 1864. 12o, 341 pp.]

I have also profited by two manuscripts, the first of which was furnished to me by Mr. Begon, Intendant at Havre, when he was Intendant of New France. It is by a voyageur of Canada, Nicholas Perrot, who long traversed almost all New

France, and was often employed by the Governors-General, from his skill in managing the minds of the Indians, almost all of whose dialects he spoke, and whose customs he had carefully studied. He was, moreover, a man of much ability. PENICAUT.

The other I received from M. d'Artaguette, who was Commissaire Ordonnateur of Louisiana, and who had it from a man named Penicaut, who lived twenty years in the country, and was travelling all the time. He was a man of sense, who acquired great credit among most of the Indians of the continent, and who rendered important services to the colony. I found in both these manuscripts much light that I had sought in vain in printed works.

There would, however, have been many a hiatus in my history if I had not found wherewith to supply them in the original documents preserved at the Dépôt de la Marine, the custody of which was confided to the late M. de Clerambaut, Genealogist of the King's Orders. They have been of great use to me also as guides, to enable me to follow more surely a true path, when the authors whom I consulted were in danger of misleading me. All the documents are not indeed of equal authenticity; but by reading them attentively, and confronting them with each other, you can easily find what to follow. Of a very great number it is impossible to dispute the authority; such are, especially, the letters which the Chevalier de Callieres wrote regularly every year to the Ministers, at the time when he was Governor of Montreal, and after he was invested with the general government of New France. In them we see an intelligent, sincere, impartial officer, aiming solely at what is right, and we generally find there light to clear doubts that arise in reading the dispatches of governors and intendants, which very seldom harmonize. These same dispatches, especially those of the first governors, of Denonville, Frontenac, Vaudreuil, Champigni, Beauharnois, Raudot, and Begon, are, moreover, the real source whence I have drawn all that concerns the political and military government of New France; and I can say, in proportion, the same of particular commandants, and of those who have directed Louisiana since it was made a distinct government.

Archives Depot de la Marine.

The Dépôt of Plans of the Marine has not been less useful to me in the geographical part of my work. It was indeed the more necessary, as I could not have found elsewhere aught to supply it. The reader may judge of the treasures contained in this dépôt by the great number of maps and plans which enrich this work. I am indebted for what I have drawn from both first to the Count de Maurepas, who permitted my investigation of them; then to Mr. de Clerambaut, in charge of the former; and the Chevalier d'Albert, director of the latter. The public will understand as well as myself, that all the treasures of the latter required to be put in order by a skilful hand, like that of Mr. Bellin, chief-engineer at this dépôt.

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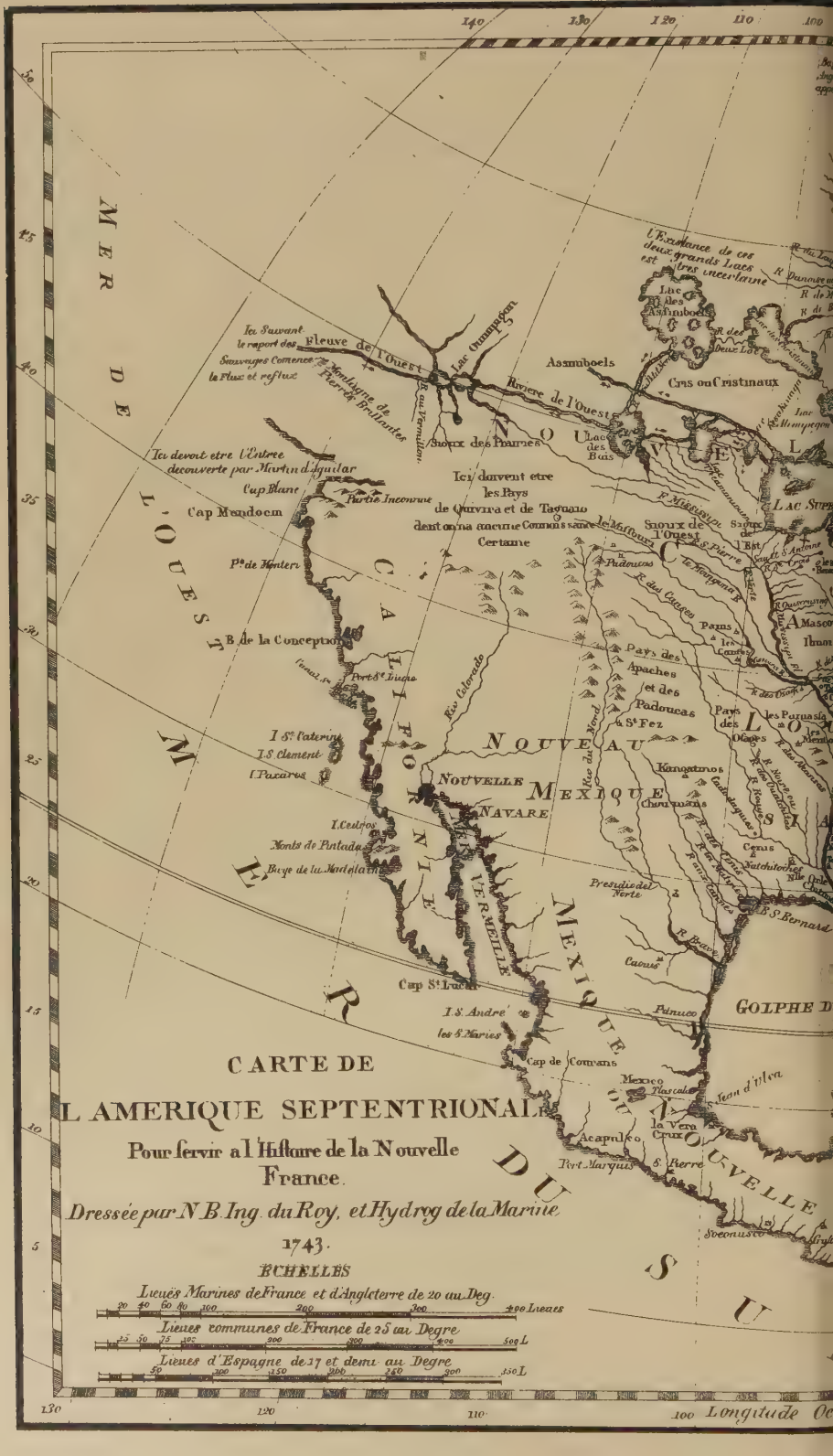
CARTE DE
L AMERIQUE SEPTENTRIONALE
Pour servir a l Histoire de la Nouvelle France.
Dressée par N B Ing. du Roy, et Hydrog de la Marine
1743.
ECHELLES
Lieues Marines de France et d'Angleterre de 20 au Deg.
Lieues communes de France de 25 au Degre
Lieues d'Espagne de 17 et demi au Degre
MER DE L'OUEST
CALIFORNIE
NOUVEAU MEXIQUE
NOUVELLE BISCAYE
VERMEILLE
MEXIQUE
NOUVELLE FRANCE
DU SUD
Fleuve de l'Ouest
Riviere de l'Ouest
Lac Ouinipegon
Assiniboels
Cap Blanc
Cap Mendocin
Cap de Conuma
Golphe de
Longitude Oc

70
60
50
40
30
R. de Cumberland
C. Farewell
Detroit de Hudson
LARRADOR
que les anglois apellent
NOUVELLE BRETAGNE
Belle Isle
E. Esquimaux
TERRE NEUVE
Ancost
G. S. Laurent
Mr Rase
S. Pierre
de Hasaspee
Le Grand Banc
ROYALE
Louisbourg
Canceaux
de Sable
Isle Percée
Montreal
Quebec
Cataracoux
Troquois
Baye de Larvare
Baye de Chespeac
Cap attras
la Bermude
Charles Town
James Town
Ste Helene
Fort Georges
S. Simon
S. Mathéo
S. Augustin
Tropique du Cancer
ISLES S. LUCAYE
Canal de Bahama
la Havane
Passage du Vent
les Caymes
la Tortue
le Cap
DE PORTORICO
S. Thomas
Anguille
la Barbude
Christofle
Antigue
la Guadeloupe
Marie galante
la Dominique
la Martinique
S. Lucie
la Barbade
S. Vincent
la Grenade
Tabago
LA TRINITE
ISLES ANTILLES
la Marguerite
Cap de la Vele
R. Orenoque
Berbice
Surrinam
Maroni
Cayenne
Cap d'Orange
Lac de Casipa
TERRE FERME
GUYANNE
S. Thomas
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Shenland Sculp

BOOK III.

Attempt of the Marquis de la Roche to settle Canada, of which he had been appointed viceroy. His commission. Failure. Description of Sable Island, where he landed. His errors. Chauvin succeeds him. His voyages and mistakes. The Commander de Chatte succeeds him, and forms a company. He dies soon after. First voyage of de Champlain to Canada. De Monts acquires the rights of Commander de Chatte. Goes to Acadia. Description of the country. Wretched settlement on Isle de Sainte Croix. Hardships experienced there. De Monts transports his colony to Port Royal. Description of that port, of the Bay of Fundy, and St. John's River. Singular tree. Port Royal granted to Poutrincourt. De Monts loses his exclusive privilege. Extremity to which the colony is reduced. Seasonable relief. Faults and misfortunes of de Monts. Description of Port Canso. De Monts retrieves himself somewhat. Foundation of Quebec. Henry IV. wishes Jesuits sent to Acadia. Opposition to this order. Two Jesuits arrive at Port Royal. Character, manners, and customs of the Indians of Acadia. Their ill-treatment by some of the French. Pride of the chiefs. Abundance of every thing in Acadia. History of Mambertou, one of their chiefs. He is baptized. Falls sick. The missionaries embarrassed. His edifying death. Father Biart visits the Canibas, or Abnakis. Ridiculous idea of an Indian. What retarded the progress of the Gospel. A new settlement projected. The missionaries leave Port Royal and make a new settlement, called St. Sauveur. Description of Pentagoët. Observations on the timber of these countries. Situation of St. Sauveur. Extravagant customs of the Malecites, Indians of these cantons. A dying child restored by means of baptism. Eleven English ships at Pentagoët. They seize St. Sauveur. Villany of the commandant. What became of the French of St. Sauveur after the capture of the post. The English commander acknowledges his villany to save the life of the French. He seizes Port Royal. Various adventures of the French settlers of St. Sauveur. Noble conduct of three Jesuits. How they are received in England. Faults committed by all concerned in the settlement of Acadia.

BOOK I.

HISTORY

AND

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

OF

NEW FRANCE:

WHEREIN WILL BE FOUND

ALL THAT RELATES TO THE DISCOVERIES AND CONQUESTS OF THE FRENCH IN NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK I.

Plan of the Work.

MEN speak so differently among us of the settlements which we have made at different times in North America, that I have been led to believe that I would please the public, as well as render a service to my native country, if to the observations made by me in traversing those vast countries, where France possesses a territory greater than the continent of Europe, I added an exact and connected history of all the memorable events that have occurred there in the last two centuries and more.

But this is not the only motive which leads me to the task. Feeling that if I owe myself to the State as a citizen, my profession also obliges me to serve the Church, and to devote to it at least a part of my vigils, I have also resolved to undertake this work, in the desire to make known the mercies of the Lord, and the triumph of religion over

Plan of the Work.

that small number of the elect, predestined before all ages, amid so many savage tribes, which, till the French entered their country, had lain buried in the thickest darkness of infidelity. Lastly, I have had in view to rescue from oblivion many illustrious personages, whose names deserve to go down to posterity, and to show that the obscurity in which they have remained till now, does not spring from any mediocrity of merit.

I shall easily concede to the Spaniards that we have not had in the New World explorers, conquerors, founders of colonies, to be compared with those of their nation who have appeared with most renown on the theatre of the New World, if, with their personal merit, we put in the scale the greatness of their conquests and the wealth of the provinces wherewith they have enriched their kingdom. But if we divest them of all that is foreign to them, and what they owe to the favorable circumstances of their position; if, in these famous men, we distinguish what is properly theirs,—their virtues, talents, valor, good conduct,—we shall perhaps be able to bring forward navigators as able, bold, and persevering as their Columbus, Americus Vesputius, Magellan; and conquerors, who, with all the bravery and intrepidity of the Balboas, Cortez, Almagros, Pizarros, and Valdivias, were not stained with their vices. I will not push this parallel further; it is for the public to judge of the merit of those whose actions are portrayed to them. The historian's duty is to give a faithful account, and furnish accurately and without bias the authorities on which he bases his judgment; and this I will here endeavor to do with all the care and sincerity in my power.

It has always been regarded in France as one of the dreams of William Postel, that a large part of the North American coast had been frequented, even before the Christian era, by the people of Gaul, who abandoned it, said he, only because they found there nothing but uncultivated lands, and vast regions without a city, and almost without an inhabitant; as if the fisheries, from which, as he

avers in the same place, the Gauls derived immense profit, would not have been a sufficient inducement to continue the trade.[1] 1477.

Some authors have advanced that, in 1477, John Scalve,[2] a Pole, explored Estotiland and a part of Labrador or Laborador; but Estotiland is now regarded as a fabulous country, that never existed except in the imagination of the brothers Zani, noble Venetians; and besides, we know no details of the expedition of the Polish voyager, which was not followed up, and made no great noise in the world. It is more certain that about the year 1497 a Venetian named John Cabot or Gaboto, and his three sons, who had fitted out at the expense, or at least under the authority of Henry VII., King of England, discovered Newfoundland and a part of the neighboring continent. It is even added that they took back to London four Indians of those parts. But good authors have written that they landed nowhere, either on island or continent.[3] Discovery of Newfound land.

About the same may be said of the voyage of a Portuguese gentleman named Gaspar de Cortereal, who in 1500 visited all the eastern shore of Newfoundland, and then ran along a good part of Labrador. It cannot indeed be denied that he landed in several places, and gave names, some of which still remain; but there is no proof that this navigator made any settlement.[4] The Portuguese, accustomed to milder climates, and soon after engaged in reaping the treasures of Africa, the East Indies, and Brazil, doubtless despised a country buried more than half the

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[1] Terra illa ob lucratissimam piscationis utilitatem summâ literarum memoriâ à Gallis adiri solita, et ante mille sexcentos annos frequentari cœpta est, sed eo quod urbibus inculta et vasta, spreta est.

[2] Ivan w' Kolna, John of Kolno, a Polish pilot in the Norwegian service, was sent in 1476 with supplies to Greenland. For the Zeno brothers, see Ramusio, i. 222.

[3] As to the voyages of the Cabots in 1497 and 1498, the best work is "A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, with a Review of the History of Maritime Discovery," by Charles Biddle, Philadelphia, 8vo, 1831. The earliest authority as to the voyage of Sebastian alone, in 1498, is Peter Martyr, Decade iii, lib. 6.

[4] Letter of Pietro Pasqualigo to his brother, Oct. 19, 1501 (Bancroft, i. 14).

1504. year in snow, with nothing but fish, the value of which was not recognized then, where the people were unfriendly, not easy to reduce, and had no riches except the skins in which they were attired.

First voyages of the French to America.

Be that as it may, from the year 1504, Basque, Norman, and Breton fishermen took cod on the great bank of Newfoundland and along the seacoast of Canada;[1] and I find in trustworthy memoirs that in 1506 John Denys, an inhabitant of Honfleur, traced a map of the gulf which now bears the name of St. Lawrence.[2] Vincent le Blanc relates, in his Voyages, that about the same time Velasco, a Spanish captain, went two hundred leagues up the river which empties into the gulf, and to which the same name has been given; that he then ran up along the coast of Labrador to the river Nevado, discovered, it is said, by Cortereal, but which is now unknown.

The statements of this author are, however, so confused and embarrassed, so destitute of dates, and of all that throws light on a relation, that we are often unable to find any thing on which to base even a probable conjecture. It is too mixed up with matters evidently fabulous, such as his account of the gigantic stature of the natives, that we are surprised to see similar tales in a work enjoying, nevertheless, some reputation. It is not enough for a traveller to be sincere; if he undertakes to supply from other memoirs what he has not seen himself, he cannot be too guarded in selecting.

In 1508 a Dieppe pilot named Thomas Aubert brought some Canadian Indians to France;[3] but there is appa-

[1] Wytfliet, Histoire des Indes, p. 131; Lescarbot, Paris, 1618, p. 228; Biard, Relation de la Nouvelle France, de ses terres, Naturel du Pays, etc., Lyon, 1616, ch. i.; Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1632), p. 9. Navarrete (vol. iii. 176–180), denies the French claim. (See ante, 25–27.)

[2] Discorso di un Gran Capitano, in Ramusio, iii. 359. This document, written apparently in 1539, gives also the name of Denys' pilot, Gamart of Rouen.

[3] Biard, Relation de la Nouvelle France, Lyon, 1616, chap. i.; Davity, Description du Monde, 1660, vol. v. p. 26; Histoire de Dieppe, cited by Ferland, p. 12. According to the historians of Dieppe, Verazzano commanded one of Aubert's vessels.

rently no foundation for the assertion that the navigator explored the country by order of Louis XII., as it is constantly admitted in our history that our kings paid no attention to America before the year 1523.[1] Then Francis I., wishing to excite the emulation of his subjects in regard to navigation and commerce, as he had already so successfully in regard to the sciences and fine arts, ordered John Verazani, who was in his service, to go and explore the New Lands, which began to be much talked of in France.[2] And here I cannot refrain from remarking incidentally how glorious it is for Italy that the three powers which now divide among them almost all America, owe their first discoveries to Italians: namely, the Spaniards, to Columbus, a Genoese; the English, to John Gabot and his sons, Venetians; and the French, to Verazani, a Florentine. I would add to these illustrious men another Florentine (Americus Vesputius), who rendered great services to the Spanish and Portuguese in the New World, if he owed to his merit, and not to a trick unworthy of an honest man, the glory he has had of giving his name to the greatest of the four quarters of the known world.[3]

1523.

Verazani was accordingly sent, in 1523, with four ships to discover North America; but our historians have not spoken of his first expedition,[4] and we should be in

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[1] Charlevoix does not mention in his Chronology, nor notice here, de Leri's attempt to colonize Sable Island in 1508, although he refers to it when speaking of the Marquis de la Roche. Lescarbot seems the only authority for it (Histoire de la Nouvelle France, 1618, p. 21). With his usual fondness for titles, he gives those of this ignored colonizer as "Le Sieur Baron de Leri et de St. Just, Vicomte de Gueu. Champlain makes no allusion to the Baron's attempt. The anonymous great captain in Ramusio (iii., 359) says that the Pensée, of which Aubert was master, belonged to "Giovan Ango, padre del Monsignor lo Capitano, & Visconte di Dieppi."

[2] For a discussion as to the authenticity of Verazzano's voyage, see Buckingham Smith, "An Inquiry into the Authenticity of Documents," etc., New York, 1864; Historical Magazine, ix. p. 169.

[3] Vesputius was in all probability ignorant of the use of his name in the work of Hylacomylus, printed at Lorraine in 1507.

[4] The earliest French allusion to Verazzano is in Thevet's Cosmographie Universelle, 1575.

1524. ignorance of it now, had not Ramusio preserved in his great collection a letter of Verazani himself, addressed to Francis I., and dated Dieppe, July 8, 1524.[1] In it he supposes the king already informed of the success and details of the voyage, so that he contents himself with stating that he sailed from Dieppe in four vessels, which he had safely brought back to that port. In January, 1524, he sailed with two ships, the Dauphine and the Normande, to cruise against the Spaniards.[2]

1525. His second voyage. Towards the close of the same year, or early in the next, he again fitted out the Dauphine, on which, embarking with fifty men, and provisions for eight months, he first sailed to the island of Madeira. He left it on the 17th of January, 1525, with a light east wind, which lasted till the 20th of February, carrying him, according to his estimate, five hundred leagues westward. A violent tempest then brought him to the verge of shipwreck; but calm returning, he resumed his course without accident, and found himself off a low shore. He ran up, but perceiving it to be thickly peopled, did not venture to land with his small force. He turned south, and ran fifty leagues without finding any harbor where he could put his ship in safety, which obliged him to turn back. He was not fortunate

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[1] This letter does not sustain Charlevoix as to the voyage in 1523 with four ships. Champlain (ed. 1632, p. 9) mentions a voyage of 1523, and Lescarbot (ed. 1618, p. 3) one of 1520, both evidently in error. Lescarbot, p. 21, gives the correct date, 1524. Ferland (Cours d'Histoire, i. 15) very properly reduces the three voyages described by Charlevoix to one in 1524. (See ante, p. 34.)

[2] The modern author of the "Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia de la Florida" (Madrid, 1723, p. 8, 1), treats Verazani as a corsair, and places this first voyage in 1524; but he is mistaken. He also pretends, inappositely, that having been taken that year by some Biscayans, he was conducted as a prisoner to Seville, and thence to Madrid, and then to Puerto del Pico, where he was hung. It is nevertheless certain that Verazani cruised for several years against the Spaniards, under a commission of the French king, then at war with Charles V. By what right, had he been taken, could they have treated him as a pirate, and not as a prisoner of war?—*Charlevoix.* The cruise of the Dauphine and Normande was evidently in 1523. He sailed in the Dauphine alone for America, Jan. 17, 1524. (Ramusio.)

northward, so that he was compelled to anchor off shore and send his longboat to examine the coast more closely. 1525.

His first landing.

As this boat ran up, the shore was found lined with Indians, in whom were witnessed at once tokens of surprise, admiration, joy, and fear; but it is not easy to judge from the letter written by Verazani to the king at what degree of latitude he first discovered land, nor precisely how far north he ascended. Lescarbot says that he discovered all the country between the thirtieth and fortieth degrees of north latitude, but he cites no authorities.[1] Verazani simply informs us that from the place where he perceived land for the first time, he coasted always in sight for fifty leagues, always going south; which he could not do, as the coast lies, if his first landing had been further north than thirty-three degrees. He even says, in express terms, that after having sailed some time, he found himself at 34° north. Thence, he adds, the coast turns east. Be that as it may, having resumed his northerly course, and seeing no port, apparently because he did not run near enough to land to distinguish the mouths of rivers, his want of water forced him to send out his boat to get a supply; but the waves ran so high that his boat could never land.

Singular adventure of a sailor.

Meanwhile the Indians, by all sorts of demonstrations, invited the French to approach; and a young sailor, who was an expert swimmer, finally ventured to leap into the water, after taking some presents for the savages. He was not more than a gunshot from land, and was only waist-high in the water, when fear seized him; he threw all he had to the Indians, and began to swim back to the boat. But at that moment a breaker rolling in threw him up on the beach with such violence, that he lay stretched there senseless. Verazani says, that having lost his footing, and his strength failing, he was on the point of drowning, when the Indians ran to his aid and took him ashore.

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[1] Lescarb., Hist. de la Nouv. Fr. (1612), p. 232. Champlain says, 33° to 47°.

1525. He was apparently some time in their arms without being aware of it. When he came to himself, he was seized with terror, and began to cry out at the top of his voice. The Indians, to reassure him, cried out louder still, which produced just the contrary effect from what they intended. They at last made him sit down at the foot of a hill, and turned his face to the sun; then, having kindled a large fire near him, they stripped him naked. He now had no further doubt but that they intended to burn him, and, as he imagined, in sacrifice to the sun. His supposition was shared by those in the ship, whence all the transaction could be seen, but where they could only deplore his lot.

He began, however, to conceive better hopes when he saw them drying his clothes, and not putting him nearer the fire than was necessary to warm him. He trembled indeed all over, but undoubtedly more from fear than cold. The Indians, on their side, caressed him, which only half reassured him, and were incessantly admiring the whiteness of his skin. His beard, and the hair which they saw in several parts of his body, where they have none, astonished them still more. At last they gave him back his clothes, and gave him food; and as he showed great impatience to go back to his companions, they took him down to the shore, and held him for some time in their embrace, thus showing in no equivocal manner their regret to part with him. They then drew off a short distance to leave him at liberty; and when they saw him swim off, they went up on a hill, and did not lose sight of him till he got up into the ship.

The other details of this voyage are not interesting or even very intelligible. We know the countries which Verazani visited much better than he did when he made the king, his master, a report of this second expedition; and the spots where he landed no longer bear the names which he gave them. He ends the memoir which he presented to Francis I. by saying, that he went very near an island

JACQUES CARTIER

which the Bretons had discovered, and which lies at 50° north latitude. If he was not mistaken in his reckoning, the island thus mentioned is undoubtedly Newfoundland, which the Bretons had long visited to fish : he, moreover, asserts, that before reaching that island, he coasted along the mainland for seven hundred leagues, which is very far from Lescarbot's figures.[1] 1525.

Verazani dies in a third voyage.

Soon after his return to France, he fitted out a new expedition, with the view of planting a colony in America. All that we know of this enterprise is, that having embarked, he was seen no more, and nothing was certainly known of his fate ;[2] for I find no ground for the statement made by some, that, having landed on a spot where he wished to build a fort, the Indians fell upon him, butchered him and all his people, and devoured them.[3] It is more certain that the unhappy lot of Verazani was the reason why, for several years, neither the king nor the nation gave any more thought of America.[4]

1534. First voyage of Jacques Cartier.

At last, ten years after, Philip Chabot, Admiral of France,[5] induced the king to resume the project of founding a French colony in the New World, whence the Spaniards daily drew such great wealth ; and he presented to him a captain of St. Malo, by name Jacques Cartier, whose merit he knew, and whom that prince accepted. Cartier having received his instructions, left St. Malo the 2d of April, 1534,[6] with two ships of sixty tons, and one hun-

[1] This voyage, here given as of 1525, must be ascribed to 1524, as Verazzani's report of it is dated July 8, 1524. Lescarbot (ed. 1612), p. 38.

[2] The third voyage of Verazzani, and his death on it, are supported solely by the Cosmographie Universelle de Thevet (1575).

[3] Lescarbot (ed. 1612, p. 41) says, at Cape Breton.

[4] Count of Buzensais and Chargni, Seigneur de Brion.

[5] See the Chronological Epochs of the New World, ann. 1525.—*Charlevoix*. The account of Verazzani's voyage is in Ramusio, Navigationi, Venetia, 1566, fol., vol. iii., and a translation of another edition in N. Y. Historical Society Collections, series 2, vol. 1, New York, 1844.

[6] Ramusio, iii. 436 ; Hakluyt, iii. 201 ; Discovrs dv Voyage fait par le Capitaine Iaqves Cartier, Rouen, 1598 (rep. 1865, p. 18). All these give the date as April 20th, not 2d. See Documents sur Jacques Cartier, Quebec Lit. and Hist. Soc. Ramé, Documents Inédits sur Jacques Car-

1534. dred and twenty-two men.[1] He steered west, inclining slightly north, and had such fair winds, that, on the 10th of May, he made Cape Bonnavista, in Newfoundland, at 46° north. Cartier found the land there still covered with snow, and the shore fringed with ice, so that he could not or dared not stop. He ran down six degrees south-south-east, and entered a port to which he gave the name of St. Catharine.[2]

Thence he turned back north, and made islands which, in his memoirs, he calls Isles des Oyseaux—Bird Islands.[3] They are, he says, fourteen leagues from Newfoundland, and he was much surprised to see a white bear as large as a cow, which had swum across. As soon as this animal perceived the boats which were going ashore, it took to the water, and the next day Cartier having met it quite near Newfoundland, killed and captured it. He then coasted along all the northern part of that great island, and he says that you meet nowhere else better ports or a more wretched country; on every side it is nothing but frightful rocks, sterile lands covered with a scanty moss; no trees, but only some bushes half dried up; that nevertheless he found men there well made, who wore their hair tied on the top of the head, like a bundle of hay, to use his expression, with birds' feathers irregularly inserted, which had a most curious effect.[4]

After making almost the circuit of Newfoundland, though without being able to satisfy himself that it was an island, he took a southerly course, crossed the gulf, approached the continent, and entered a very deep bay, where he suffered greatly from heat, whence he called it

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tier (Paris, 1865), p. 3, gives a document, dated March 19, 1533, which seems to show that he was then attempting to sail to America.

[1] The text of Ramusio seems to make this number in each vessel, but the Discovrs du Voyage sixty-one in each. See also Hakluyt, iii.; Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie Française en Canada, 7 n.

[2] Now Catalina; Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, 18 n.

[3] Now Funk Island, (ib.); Hakluyt, iii. 202; Discovrs du Voyage, p. 18.

[4] Ramusio, iii. 436; Discovrs du Voyage, p. 55.

Chaleurs Bay.[1] He was charmed with the beauty of the country, and well pleased with the Indians that he met, and with whom he exchanged some goods for furs. This bay is the same that is laid down on some maps as Baye des Espagnols; and there is an old tradition, that Spaniards entered it before Cartier, and that, seeing no signs of any mines there, they had several times repeated the words, *Aca nada*—nothing there. This the Indians subsequently repeated to the French, inducing them to suppose Canada to be the name of the country.[2] We have already seen that Vincent le Blanc mentions a Spanish voyage to these parts; the rest is very uncertain. Be that as it may, Chaleurs Bay is a pretty good harbor, and from the middle of May to the end of July a prodigious quantity of seals are taken there. 1534.

He returns to France

On leaving this bay, Cartier visited a good part of the coasts around the gulf, and took possession of the country[3] in the name of the most Christian king, as Verazani had done in all the places where he landed.[4] He set sail again on the 15th of August to return to France, and reached St. Malo safely on the 5th of September, full of hope that the tribes with whom he had treated would easily be civilized and gained to Christ, and an advantageous trade by this means established with a great number of different nations.[5]

1535. The second voyage.

On the report which he made of his voyage, the court concluded that it would be useful to France to have a settlement in that part of America; but no one took this

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[1] Ramusio, iii. 438 verso; Hakluyt, iii. 208.

[2] Some derive the name from the Iroquois Kannata, and meaning a collection of cabins.—*Charlevoix.* Velasco is the Spaniard here alluded to. The Spanish derivation is fictitious.

[3] Le Blanc, World Surveyed, p. 348.

[4] Cartier took possession at Gaspe Bay (Discovrs du Voyage, p. 56).

[5] Ramusio, iii. 440; Discovrs du Voyage, p. 67; Thevet, Singularitez de la France Antarctique, p. 148–9. Ramusio's account and the Discovrs give a vocabulary, which is evidently Iroquois, and not Algonquin. The Discovrs (p. 53) shows that he met two different races and languages, one evidently Iroquois, and probably the Toudaman of the Algonquins. There is no allusion to Verazzani in these authors.

1535. affair more to heart than the Vice-admiral Charles de Mouy, Sieur de la Mailleraye. This noble obtained a new commission for Cartier, more ample than the first, and gave him three ships well equipped.[1] This fleet was ready about the middle of May, and Cartier, who was a man of much religious feeling, directed all his men to meet on the 16th (Whitsunday), in the Cathedral Church, to offer up their devotions. All were present, and on leaving the altar, the captain, followed by his party, entered the choir, where the bishop awaited them attired in his pontifical vestments, and gave them his benediction.[2]

They embarked on Wednesday the 19th, Cartier on a vessel of one hundred and twenty tons, called the Great Hermine, having with him several young gentlemen, who followed him as volunteers.[3] They set sail in beautiful weather, but the next day the wind became adverse, the sky overcast, and for more than a month all the resources of the pilots were tasked to the utmost. The three vessels, which lost sight of each other,[4] each encountered violent storms, and unable to hold on, were at last forced to leave themselves to the pleasure of the winds and the sea.

The Great Hermine was carried to the north of Newfoundland, and on the 19th of July[5] sailed for the gulf,[6] the rendezvous appointed in case of separation. He

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[1] Ramusio, iii. 440. Lescarbot, Nouvelle France, 1618, p. 263.

[2] Ferland, i. 20. See commission of Chabot to Cartier, Oct. 30, 1534, in Ramé, Documents Inédits, p. 7.

[3] Brief Recit & succincte narration, de la navigation faicte es ysles de Canada, &c., Paris, 1545, p. 6; Hakluyt, iii. 212; Ramusio, iii. 440; Lescarbot (ed. 1618), p. 270. The Bishop alluded to in the text, was, it would seem, Denis Briconnet. Gallia Christiana, ii. 681; Faillon's Histoire de la Colonie Française en Canada, p. 12.

[4] An ancient register of St. Malo preserves the names of the whole party, apparently in Cartier's hand. Mr. G. B. Faribault, to whom Canadian history owes so much, has had it engraved in fac-simile. Ramé gives it, p. 10.

[5] June 25; Brief Recit, 6 verso.

[6] Cartier gives no such data. He made land first at Ile aux Oiseaux, Funk Island, July 7,—*Brief Recit*, p. 6 verso,—and sailed the next day for the rendezvous, La Baye des Chateaux, Straits of Bellisle; Brief Recit, 7; Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, i., 18.

arrived there on the 25th,[1] and the next day the other two vessels joined him. On the 1st of August bad weather drove him to take refuge in the port St. Nicholas, at the mouth of the river on the north. Here Cartier planted a cross, with the arms of France, and remained till the 7th.[2] This port is almost the only spot in Canada that has kept the name given by Cartier: most of the others were afterwards changed—thus throwing much obscurity over this navigator's memoirs. Port St. Nicholas is at 49° 25′ north latitude. It is quite safe, and you can anchor in four fathoms of water; but the entrance is difficult, because it is surrounded with reefs.[3]

1535.

Description of Port St. Nicholas.

On the 10th the three vessels re-entered the gulf,[4] and in honor of the saint whose feast is celebrated on that day, Cartier gave the gulf the name of St. Lawrence; or rather he gave it to a bay lying between Anticosti Island and the north shore, whence it extended to the whole gulf of which this bay is part; and because the river, before that called River of Canada, empties into the same gulf, it insensibly acquired the name of St. Lawrence, which it still bears.

Origin of the name St. Lawrence, borne by the gulf and river of Canada.

On the 15th, Cartier approached the island of Anticosti to examine it better, and in honor of the festival of the day, he called it Assumption Island.[5] But the name of Anticosti has prevailed in ordinary usage. The three vessels then ascended the river, and on the 1st of September they entered the river Saguenay.[6] Cartier merely recon-

Anticosti Island and Saguenay.

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[1] The Brief Recit says the 15th, and Mr. d'Avezac shows that the manuscripts agree with the printed text. The other vessels arrived on the 26th.

[2] Brief Recit, p. 7.

[3] Ferland (Cours d'Histoire, p. 22) says: "According to the distances given by Cartier, the haven of St. Nicholas must be Pachachibou, a little harbor where coasting schooners find shelter."

[4] He apparently entered the Bay of St. Lawrence on the 8th. See Brief Recit, 7, 8. This bay, according to Mr. Ferland (Cours d'Histoire, p. 22, n.), is the present Port de Ste. Geneviève.

[5] Brief Recit, p. 59. The Indians called it Natiscotec. The name Anticosti seems to have been given to it by the English. Jean Alphonse errs in calling it Ascension Island.—*Charlevoix.* The Montagnais now call it *Natashkoueh*—place where they seek the bear. Ferland, i. 22, n.

[6] The Brief Recit does not mention

1535. noitred the mouth of this river, and after running along the shore for fifteen leagues, anchored near an isle, which he called Isle aux Coudres, because he found a number of hazels there.[1] This shows the error of those who have imagined that this island was formed by the great earthquake, of which I shall treat in its proper place, and which indeed augmented it considerably.

Isle Orleans.

Cartier seeing himself thus far advanced in an unknown country, hastened to seek a port where his vessels might winter in safety. Eight leagues above Isle aux Coudres he found another much larger and handsomer island, all covered with trees and vines. He called it Bacchus Island,[2] but the name has been changed to Isle d'Orleans. The author of the relation of this voyage, printed under the name of Cartier, pretends that only here the country begins to be called Canada. But he is surely mistaken; for it is certain that from the earliest times the Indians gave this name to the whole country along the river on both sides, from its mouth to the Saguenay.[3]

Sainte Croix, or Jacques Cartier River.

From Bacchus Island, Cartier proceeded to a little river which is ten leagues off, and comes from the north; he called it Rivière de Ste. Croix, because he entered it on the 14th of September (Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross);[4] but it is now commonly called Rivière de Jacques Cartier.[5] The day after his arrival, he received

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his entering the Saguenay, but the three manuscripts all state the fact. See D'Avezac's edition, p. 54.

[1] Brief Recit, p. 12 verso.

[2] The Brief Recit does not give any name to the island at this time (see p. 12 verso), but later mentions his giving the name (p. 14 verso). In the manuscript, some pages after (see D'Avezac, p. 63 verso), the name Isle d'Orleans, still in use, is given.

[3] For a defence of Cartier's position, see Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, p. 24. As to the authorship of the Brief Recit, see Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie Française, i. p. 523.

[4] Brief Recit, p. 14.

[5] Charlevoix was evidently misled Mr. Ferland shows how completely Cartier's description answers to the St. Charles at Quebec. (Cours d'Histoire, p. 26.) Champlain (Voyages, 1613, p. 185) declares the St. Charles to be the Ste. Croix, and not a river then called Ste. Croix, further west. He found a chimney, ditches, squared timber, cannon-balls, &c. Lescarbot (p. 616–7 and p. 226) states the same,

a visit from an Indian chief named Donnacona,[1] whom the author of the relation of that voyage styles Lord of Canada. Cartier treated with this chief by means of two Indians whom he had taken to France the year before, and who knew a little French. They informed Donnacona that the strangers wished to go to Hochelaga, which seemed to trouble him. 1535.

Island of Montreal. Hochelaga.

Hochelaga was a pretty large town, situated on an island now known under the name of Island of Montreal. Cartier had heard much of it, and was loth to return to France without seeing it. The reason why this voyage troubled Donnacona was, that the people of Hochelaga were of a different nation from his, and that he wished to profit exclusively by the advantages which he hoped to derive from the stay of the French in his country. He accordingly represented to Cartier that the rest of the route to that town was longer than he supposed, and that he would encounter great difficulties; but Cartier, who doubtless detected the motive of his language, did not forego his resolution. He left Sainte Croix on the 19th, in the Great Herminé only and two longboats, leaving the other two vessels in the river Sainte Croix, which the Great Hermine was unable to enter.[2]

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and describes the ruins. Sagard and Champlain state that the first chapel of the Jesuits, Notre Dame des Anges, was built at what was still called "Jacques Cartier's Fort." This chapel was at the junction of the St. Charles and Lairet.

[1] His arrival off Isle d'Orleans was on the 7th, and the next day Donnacona visited him. The Indians taken off by Cartier were Taignoagny and Domagaya. Donnacona's town was called Stadaconé, and, according to the accurate Mr. Ferland, lay between Fabrique-street and the Coteau de Sainte Geneviève, in the present city of Quebec.

[2] Champlain pretends that this river is the St. Charles, but wrongly, as vessels much larger than the Great Hermine enter the latter readily at high tide. Champlain counted the ten leagues from the lower end of the island.—*Charlevoix.* Champlain (see his discussion, Voyages, ed. 1613, p. 185) was, however, right. The Ste. Croix had been pointed out to him as the place where Cartier wintered, and, finding it not to correspond, he studied the whole question. Compare Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, i. 26; Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie Française, i. 497; Garneau, Hist. du Canada (3d. ed.), i. 20. Cartier sailed up the river in the Emerillon; Ferland, i. 29.

1535. On the 29th he was stopped at Lake St. Pierre, which his ship could not pass, apparently from having failed to follow the channel. The plan which he adopted was to man his two boats and embark in them.[1] He at last reached Hochelaga[2] on the 2d of October, accompanied by Messrs. de Pontbriand, de la Pommeraye, and de Goyelle,[3] three of his volunteers. The shape of the town was round, and three rows of palisades inclosed in it about[4] fifty tunnel-shaped cabins, each over fifty paces long, and fourteen or fifteen wide.[5] It was entered by a single gate, above which, as well as along the first palisade, ran a kind of gallery, reached by ladders, and well provided with pieces of rock and pebbles for the defence of the place.

Cartier's reception there.

The inhabitants of this town spoke the Huron language.[6] They received the French very well, feasted

[1] Brief Recit, p. 22.

[2] Ib., p. 22.

[3] The Brief Recit says, Jehan Govion, p. 22.

[4] Cartier says: "Close de boys a trois rencqs, en façon d'une piramide croisée par le haut, ayant la rangée du parmi en façon de ligne perpendiculaire." Brief Recit, p. 23. This can scarcely be interpreted a triple palisade. The centre post was perpendicular, having an oblique one on each side, joining it at the top: these pyramids or triangles were united at the top, and the sides covered with logs well fastened together. See Plan "La Terra de Hochelaga nella Nova Francia" in Ramusio; Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie Française, i. 501; Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, i. 29. The picture of an Iroquois fort in Champlain (ed. 1613, p. 255) may explain Cartier.

[5] Brief Recit, p. 24.

[6] This seems the more probable opinion. Cartier's vocabulary, if got here, would settle it; but where did he get his words? He had no interpreter, and, if got here by signs, is not so stated. His two interpreters, Taignoagny and Domagaya (who were of Stadaconé, Brief Recit, p. 32 verso), must have given him many words; these are generally supposed to be Algonquins, but, as his vocabulary has no Algonquin words, we must conclude Stadaconé to have been also Hurôn-Iroquois. The form of Hochelaga is clearly Huron-Iroquois; and of the few words Cartier gives positively as Hochelaga, most are clearly Huron-Iroquois. See Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie Canadienne, i. 524; Historical Magazine, ix. 144. The name Hochelaga presents difficulties. Champlain ascribes it to the Sault St. Louis (Voyages, p. 10). The modern Iroquois name of Montreal, as given in the books printed there by Mr. Marcoux and others, is Tiohtiaki, which Mr. Faillon (ii. 16) thinks the same as Tutonaguy, mentioned in Cartier's third voyage as between Hochelaga and Sault St.

them after their fashion, and exchanged presents. The astonishment of these Indians at the sight of the Europeans was excessive. Their firearms, trumpets, and other warlike instruments, their long beards, their dress, were long a matter of wonder and conversation among these savages, who constantly questioned their guests; but as on neither side they could speak except by signs, the French gave and received very little light on these mutual inquiries. 1535.

One day Cartier was much surprised to see the chief of the town come to him, showing him his legs and arms, giving him to understand that he suffered from some malady in them, and that he should kindly heal him. His conduct was at once imitated by all those who were present, and soon after by a still larger number, who flocked from all sides, some among whom were apparently very ill, and some extremely aged. The simplicity of these people touched the captain, who, arming himself with a lively faith, recited with all possible devotion the commencement of St. John's gospel. He then made the sign of the cross on the sick, gave them rosaries and Agnus Deis, giving them to understand that these things had great power to heal all kinds of infirmities.[1] This done, he began to pray, and earnestly besought the Lord not to leave these poor idolaters longer in the shades of infidelity. Then he recited aloud the whole Passion of Jesus Christ. This was heard with great attention and respect by all present, and the pious ceremony was closed by a blast of trumpets, which

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Louis. The Huron name, as given by Potier (Elementa Gramm. Huron.), was Te okia, i, equivalent to Te okiagui; the latter part being perhaps the name incorrectly written Hochelaga, which contains a labial clearly intrusive. The termination may be ga, people. The Senecas call the French of Montreal Dohkia-gí-ga. A comparison of Cartier's Vocabulary with that of the Cherokees (Tsallake) shows some striking resemblance.

[1] Cartier attributed no such power to his gifts, which were not given to the sick, but to all, men, women, and children,—knives to the men, beads to the women, and rings and little tin lambs for the children. Brief Recit, p. 26. "Pate Notre" meant a string of beads, and "Agnus Dei d'etain" are not Agnus Deis, for these are of wax.

1535. put these Indians beside themselves with wonder and joy.[1]

He visits the mountain, and gives it the name of Mont Royal.

The same day Cartier visited the mountain at the foot of which the town lay, and gave it the name of Mont Royal, which has become that of the whole island.[2] From it he discovered a great extent of country, the sight of which charmed him; and justly, for there are few in the world more beautiful or better. He felt that it would be difficult to find a spot better adapted for a permanent settlement; and with his mind full of this grand idea,[3] he left Hochelaga on the 5th of October, and on the 11th arrived at Sainte Croix.

His people had made a kind of intrenchment around their barracks, sufficient at least to protect them against surprise, a precaution often necessary with Indians,[4] and which no one need ever repent of, even when there is no occasion to feel the necessity. In the present case it would have been imprudent not to take this step, as they proposed to winter near a populous town, commanded by a chief whom they had more than one reason to distrust. I find in some memoirs, and it is a constant tradition in Canada, that one of the three vessels was wrecked on a rock in the St. Lawrence, opposite the River Ste. Croix, entirely covered at high-water, and now styled Roche de Jacques Cartier; but the narrative which I have followed in this account makes no mention of such an accident.[5]

1536. Scurvy carries off a part of the French.

His greater misfortune soon made this forgotten; and the more readily, as it would have been necessary to abandon this vessel for want of sailors to take it back to France. This was a kind of scurvy, which none escaped, and which would perhaps have swept off the very last of

[1] Brief Recit, p. 27 verso.

[2] Now called Montreal.—*Charlev.*

[3] Not mentioned in Brief Recit.

[4] Brief Recit, p. 28 and verso.

[5] This story is first given by De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, i. 282, without any date. If it happened at all, it must have been in the third voyage. Mr. Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie Française, i., thinks that it arose from the loss of one of Roberval's boats; but it may have come from the fact of a ship being left by Cartier. Brief Recit, p. 41.

the French, had they not, a little too late, discovered a remedy which acted at once. This was a decoction of the leaf and bark of the white pine pounded together. Cartier was himself attacked with the disease, when the Indians taught him this secret. He had already lost twenty-five men, and scarcely two or three were left him able to act. A week, however, after beginning to use this remedy all were up. Some even, it is said, who had had the venereal disease, and had not been perfectly cured, in a short time recovered perfect health.[1] This same tree produces the turpentine, or white Canada balsam. 1536.

Notion of Canada given to the king by Cartier.

In the memoir on his second voyage, presented by Cartier to Francis I., he does not attribute to intercourse with the Indians, which his men had at first kept up, the malady which had been on the point of sweeping off all his party; but to the indolence of his people and the condition to which they were exposed.[2] In fact, the Canada Indians have never been subject to scurvy. So this captain, in spite of his losses, and the rigorous cold from which he suffered all the more, as he had not taken precautions to guard against a difficulty which he had not foreseen, did not hesitate to assure his majesty that great advantages could be derived from the country which he had just visited.

He stated that most of the land is quite fertile, the climate very healthy, the people sociable and easily kept in respect. He spoke to him especially of the furs as an important object. But he insisted chiefly on the point that it was most worthy of a great prince like him, who bore the title of Most Christian King and Eldest Son of the Church, to extend the knowledge of Christ to so many

[1] Brief Recit, pp. 34 verso to 38 verso. The Indian name of the tree was Ameda or Annedda. Cartier gives no French name, but it is generally admitted to be the white pine. See Champlain, 1613, p. 65. French Onondaga Dictionary, p. 21. That Cartier was not attacked, we may infer from the Brief Recit, p. 36.

[2] The disease broke out among the Indians first (Brief Recit, p. 34 verso), and fifty died before a Frenchman was attacked. The narrative says nothing of the indolence of the men.

1536. infidel nations, who did not seem difficult to convert to Christianity.[1]

His return to France.

Some authors, however, pretend that Cartier, disgusted with Canada, dissuaded the king, his master, from further thoughts of it; and Champlain seems to have been of that opinion. But this does not agree with what Cartier himself says in his memoirs, nor with what we read in other relations of his voyages. It is added that on starting from Ste. Croix to return to France, which he did as soon as the navigation of the river was open, he by stratagem took Donnacona with him;[2] that he presented the chief to the king, and made him repeat to the prince all that he had himself said of the advantages of the country: but this is not certain.

Judgment on the memoirs.

If Cartier's memoirs[3] long served as a guide to those who after him navigated the gulf and river St. Lawrence, it is certain that in our days they are almost unintelligible, because, besides the subsequent changing of most of the names which he gave to the islands, rivers, capes, etc., the terms which he cites are not to be found in any Canadian language, whether he distorted them from not catching the true sound, or because they have become obsolete, as happens with all living languages; yet much less among the Indians than among us, as I have been assured on the spot. Indeed, most words given by travellers as proper names, when they are not absolutely invented, have generally no foundation but words badly understood, or taken in a sense quite different from that belonging to them.

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[1] Brief Recit, p. 5. There is no allusion to fur. See Thevet, Singularitez de la France Antarctique, 1558, 4o, p. 148–9.

[2] Cartier relates the seizing of Donnacona (p. 41 verso et seq.), after having previously stated the evidently hostile preparations making against the French, and the attempt of Donnacona to get Cartier in his hands. Donnacona lived four or five years in France. Thevet, Cosmographie, 145–6. Cartier left Ste. Croix, May 6, and reached St. Malo, July 6, 1536. Brief Recit, 44 verso and 46 verso.

[3] Charlevoix had apparently not seen Hakluyt or the Brief Recit of 1545, but followed Lescarbot, who abridges and alters Cartier. See his edition of 1618, pp. 226–377.

Meanwhile, Cartier in vain extolled the country which he had discovered. His small returns, and the wretched condition to which his men had been reduced by cold and scurvy, persuaded most that it would never be of any use to France. Great stress was laid on the fact that he nowhere saw any appearance of mines; and then, even more than now, a strange land which produced neither gold nor silver was reckoned as nothing. Perhaps, too, Cartier discredited his relation by the tales with which he thought fit to embellish it;[1] but how return from an unknown land and relate no wonders of it! It is not worth while, they say, to go so far to see only what you may see everywhere. 1536. Canada neglected by France.

Truly the condition of a voyager is very sad, when he does not return able to compensate by some solid advantage for the hardships and dangers which he has encountered. If he thinks fit to give a relation of his voyage, he finds all his readers on their guard; if he says any thing in the least extraordinary, he finds no credence. On the other hand, if a relation is utterly devoid of the marvellous, it lies unread; that is to say, we require a traveller to amuse us even at the expense of his reputation; we must read him with pleasure, and preserve the right to turn him into ridicule.

I do not know whether Jacques Cartier made all these reflections when he wrote his memoirs, but he introduces the marvellous of more than one type. Yet all is not so fabulous, that you do not catch some glimpses of the reality which his ignorance or want of attention have disfigured; and what he has related on the testimony of others is not always unfounded. This leads me to think that I shall be pardoned, if I stop to examine some points of history, which are not altogether unworthy of the curious. Remarks on some parts of Cartier's memoirs.

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[1] This is unjust to Cartier; but Charlevoix had never seen Cartier's own narrative, which is not liable to the censures given.

1536. Our author then assures us that one day hunting he pursued a two-footed deer, which ran with extraordinary speed.[1] He doubtless saw through the bushes an Indian in a deerskin, with the fur outside, and perhaps heard him imitate an animal's cry, to draw it into a trap, after the Indian fashion. The Indian, on his side, who perhaps had never seen a European, seeing an extraordinary man, took flight. Cartier, ignorant that these Indians do not yield to deer and stags in fleetness of foot, much astonished to see his assumed deer run as fast on two legs as on four, concluded that it was an animal of a peculiar species. And from a similar source, perhaps, come all that is written of fawns and satyrs. But here is something still more admirable.

Donnacona, if we credit the relation of the St. Malo captain, related to him that in a voyage which he made to a country far remote from his own,[2] he saw men who did not eat, and had no issue in the body for excrements, but who drank and passed liquids. That in another region were men who had but one leg and thigh, with a very large foot, two hands on the same arm, the waist extremely square, the breast and head flat, and a very small mouth. That still further on he had seen pigmies, and a sea the water of which was fresh.[3] In fine, that, ascending the Saguenay, you reach a country where there are men dressed like us, who live in cities, and have much gold, rubies, and copper.[4]

It is certain that our missionaries have ascended the Saguenay as far as possible, with the Indians, and most of its branches; that they have seen only frightful districts, impracticable for any but wandering savages, many of

[1] Cartier does not say so. Lescarbot makes him say that he saw footprints of a biped, which were more than a palm long, and which he followed on the sand for some distance. Lescarbot, Hist., p. 393.

[2] Saguenay. Brief Recit, p. 40 verso.

[3] This is exaggerated. The Brief Recit says: "Moreover says to have been in another country of Picquemyans and other countries, where the people have only one leg."

[4] Not ascending the Saguenay, but at Saguenay. Brief Recit, p. 40 verso.

whom even perish of famine and hardship. But it may be observed that an Indian, for whom seven or eight hundred leagues' march is no great affair, might easily, by taking the Saguenay route, and then turning west, penetrate to Lake Assiniboin, which is, it is said, six hundred leagues in circuit, and thence pass to New Mexico, where the Spaniards began at that time to settle.[1] 1536.

It is, moreover, very strange that the story of one-legged men should be renewed quite recently by a young Esquimaux girl, captured in 1717, and brought to Mr. de Courtemanche, on the coast of Labrador, where she was still in 1720, when I reached Quebec. This girl, one day seeing fishermen on the seashore, asked whether there were only men made like that among us. They were surprised at her question, but still more at her adding that she had seen in her country two men of monstrous size and bulk who discharged their excrements from the mouth, and made water under the shoulder. She also said that among her countrymen there was another kind of men, who had only one leg, one thigh, and a very large foot, two hands on the same arm, a broad body, flat head, small eyes, scarcely any nose, and a very small mouth; that they were always in a bad humor; that they could remain under the water three-quarters of an hour at a time, and that the Esquimaux used them to fish up the fragments of the ships wrecked on the coast.

Black men in the north.

She finally averred that in the northern extremity of Labrador was a people entirely black, with large lips, a broad nose, straight white hair; that this nation was very wicked, and although badly armed, having only stone knives and axes, without any iron, it had rendered itself a terror to the Esquimaux; and that they use snow-

[1] The Saguenay of the St. Lawrence Indians was evidently the Lake Superior region, and possibly the parts accessible by the Mississippi. The River Saguenay was not so called from being in, but from leading to, Saguenay. See Brief Recit, p. 33 verso. The direct route to Saguenay was by a river that entered the St Lawrence at Montreal. Ib., p. 34.

1536. shoes to run on the snow, which are not in use among them.

It must be avowed that it would be a strange thing to find black men so near the Pole, and in a climate where the very bears are white; yet de Courtemanche's young slave is not the only one who makes the assertion.

The author of the Relation of Greenland, given in the Voyages au Nord, after speaking of the natives of the country, which he represents as very like the Esquimaux, large and lean like them, dressed in the same style, having canoes like theirs, adds that there are also among them men as black as Ethiops.[1] After all, there is nothing impossible in this, as negroes might, by chance or otherwise, have been transported to Greenland, and multiplied there, the white hair being an effect of cold, which acts similarly on most of the animals in Canada.

Pigmies. The slave spoke also of pigmies, who formed, she said, a nation of themselves, were only three feet high, and extremely stout. Their wives, she added, are still smaller, and there is not in the world a more wretched people. The Esquimaux, whose slaves they are, treat them very harshly, and make it a signal favor to give them a little fresh water to drink. The relation which I have cited says the same, and avers that in many parts of the country there is no fresh water, but melted snow;[2] in which there is nothing incredible, as the cold may so close the channels in the earth, that there is no passage for springs, except at a certain depth.

This conjecture is confirmed by what voyagers have experienced at the North, where they have seen on the seashore immense icebergs of fresh water. According to some memoirs, also, the Esquimaux are accustomed to drink sea-water, and that there is often no other. This water is not, however, of the sea, but of brackish ponds, such as are sometimes found far inland.

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[1] Recueil de Voyages au Nord, i. p. 129. [2] Ib., p. 131.

We also learn from the Voyages au Nord, that some Danish vessels, which in 1605 ascended very far up in Hudson's Bay, found there little men, with square heads, bronzed complexion, thick pouting lips, who eat meat and fish raw; who could never be accustomed to bread or cooked meats, still less to wine; who swallowed whale-oil as we do water, and eat its flesh as a delicacy; who made shirts of the intestines of fish, and overcoats of dog or seal skins.[1] The author adds that he took several of these pigmies to Denmark, and that they all died of home-sickness; but that five were still alive, when on the arrival of a Spanish ambassador, they gave him as an entertainment the spectacle of these little men sailing in boats of their fashion on the sea.[2] These boats were of the shape of a weaver's shuttle, and ten or twelve feet long. They were made of whalebones an inch thick, covered above and below with skins of seals or sea-dogs, sewed together with sinews. Two other skins covered the upper part of the boat, in such a way that there was only an opening in the middle by which the boatman got in, and drew it up like a purse around his waist. Thus seated, and secured around the body, not a drop of water entered their boat, although the waves broke over their heads, and sometimes surrounded them on every side. The force of these boats consists in the two ends, where the whalebones are well tied together by the extremities; and the whole is so well joined, so well sewed, that these slight craft can stand the most violent storms; and that in the very midst of shipwreck their conductors laugh at the tempest. 1536.

There is never more than one man in each of these boats; and he sits there, his legs stretched out, the wrist of his sleeves well tied, his head enveloped in a kind of hood attached to his coat, so that, whatever happens, no water penetrates. They hold in their hand a double-

[1] Recueil des Voyages au Nord, i. p. 132, though not cited exactly.

[2] Recueil des Voyages au Nord, i. p. 141.

1536. bladed paddle, five or six feet long, which serves at once as oar, rudder, and balance or counterpoise. The pigmies of Copenhagen greatly diverted the Spanish ambassador. They crossed each other's course, and performed all the other evolutions with so much address, that they always remained at the same distance from each other, and they passed so rapidly as to dazzle one. They then ran a race with a light boat, pulled by sixteen good rowers, and in a moment left it far behind. The Esquimaux, who use the same kind of boats, have also a larger kind, nearly of the form of our decked sloops; the frame is of wood, but covered, like the others, with skins; they will carry as many as a hundred and fifty persons, and go equally well with sails and oars.

But to close this digression, which is not, however, foreign to my subject, these pigmies of North America seem to me to be of the same race as the Laps and the Samoyedes, and prove quite satisfactorily, it seems to me, an easy passage from Europe to America by Greenland. As for the monstrous men described by the slave of Mr. de Courtemanche and by Donnacona, and the headless men, killed it is pretended by an Iroquois hunter, a few years since, while hunting, it is easy to believe that there is some exaggeration, but it is easier to deny extraordinary facts than to explain them; and, moreover, are we at liberty to reject whatever we cannot explain? Who can pretend to know all the caprices and mysteries of nature? We know how the imagination of a mother affects her unborn offspring. Experience, the very testimony of Scripture, are an indisputable proof. Add to this the strange figures, regarded by some nations as a beauty, and so jealously adhered to, that they put the bodies of their children to torture to complete what the mother's imagination could not effect; and we can easily conceive that there can be men different enough from the generality, to allow some people who catch at an object quickly without taking time to examine, to relate absurd stories, not, however, without some reality.

I return to my history.

1540.

Cartier, as has been observed, had unintentionally prejudiced many people against Canada; but some persons at court thought differently from the mass, and were not inclined to abandon so soon an enterprise, the success of which should not depend on one or two attempts. The one most imbued with this thought was a gentleman of Picardy, Francis de la Roque, Seigneur de Roberval, highly esteemed in his province, and whom Francis I. sometimes styled the Petty King of Vimeu. He asked and obtained a commission to follow up the discoveries; but a mere commission was too insignificant for a man of his rank, and the king, by letters patent inserted in the *Etat Ordinaire des Guerres*, in the *Chambre des Comptes* at Paris, dated January 15, 1540, declares him Lord of Norimbegua, his viceroy and lieutenant-general in Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, Newfoundland, Belleisle, Carpon, Labrador, Great Bay, and Baccalaos, giving him in all these places his own royal power and authority.[1] This was not much, as every thing was yet to be done to secure to France possession of all these places. Mr. de Roberval sailed the next year with five vessels, having under him Jacques Cartier as chief pilot.[2] Some authors

De Roberval appointed viceroy of Canada.

1541. His first voyage.

[1] Lescarbot gives this patent in full; edition 1618, p. 397. (Parkman, p. 197, confounds commission and patent.) There is no authority that Cartier had prejudiced people against Canada. His Brief Recit praises it, and hardly bears out the assertion of Le Clercq (Etablissement de la Foi, i. 9), that he resolved not to return to Canada.

[2] Roberval did not go with Cartier. Charlevoix, like Champlain, Le Clercq, and most previous French writers, seems to have known nothing of Hakluyt and of the accounts of Cartier's third voyage, and that of Roberval, with the letters of Cartier's nephew, preserved by the English collector. To give the true state of facts, it will be necessary here to abridge the narrative. Cartier was appointed captain-general and master-pilot of the expedition, by royal commission, dated October 17, 1540, and set to work, under Roberval's order, to fit out ships at St. Malo; the plan being to sail in April, 1541, with thirteen vessels and two thousand five hundred men, with provisions for two years, says a Spanish account (Buckingham Smith, Colleccion de Documentos, 4o, Londres, 1857, p. 108). He certainly got five ships ready; but Roberval

1541. allege that Cartier was very reluctant to undertake this new voyage, but was tempted by the advantageous offers made him. The voyage was successful. De Roberval built a fort, some say on the river St. Lawrence,[1] others on Cape Breton Island,[2] leaving Cartier as commandant, with a numerous garrison, sufficient provisions, and one of his vessels, after which he returned to France to seek greater re-enforcements.

1542. His second voyage. His post was apparently ill-chosen, and, perhaps, the settlers left were not selected with sufficient judgment; we know certainly that the cold and discomforts of the coun-

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not having his cannon and ammunition, went to Rouen to get them, and directed Cartier to sail (Hakluyt, iii. 233). Cartier accordingly weighed anchor, May 23, 1541. Hakluyt (ib.) says 1540, but it was 1541, as the Spanish spy's report and receipts, signed at St. Malo by Cartier, May 7, 1541, show (Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, i. 40). Owing to a dispersion by a storm, they reached Ste. Croix only on August 23d.

[1] He did not reoccupy his old fort, but built a new one, Charlesbourg Royal, at Cap Rouge River, four leagues higher up; and having fortified it, and laid up three vessels securely, sent the other two back to France (Hakluyt, iii. 234). Leaving the Viscount de Beaupré in command of the fort, Cartier again ascended to Hochelaga (ib., 235). On his return, he found the Indians hostile. Two of the settlers had been killed (Thevet, Le Grand Insulaire et Pilotage, cited by Ferland), and the French commander at last yielded to the clamors of his people, and set sail for France in the spring of 1542. Roberval had sailed from France, April 16 of that year, with three large ships, and two hundred of both sexes. On the 8th of June, while in the harbor of St. John, Newfoundland, Cartier arrived (Hakluyt, iii. 240). "Hee enformed the Generall that he could not, with his small company, withstand the savages, which went about daily to annoy him, and that this was the cause of his return into France" (ib.) Roberval ordered him to return, but avers that he stole away at night. In July, Roberval anchored before Charlesbourg Royal, now styled France Roi, as the river was France Prime. After rebuilding the fort, Roberval, on the 14th of September, sent back two ships (ib., 241). After a severe winter, with scurvy, suffering, and disorders, he set out for Saguenay, and sent Jean Alphonse, of Xaintonge, to explore the northern coasts (ib., 242). But the colony, made up of wretched material, would have perished, but for the aid of the Indians. Cartier was sent out in the autumn of 1543, and in the following spring took back to France the sad remnants of the expedition. Documents sur Jacques Cartier (Quebec, 1862), p. 126; Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, i. 45.

[2] Lescarbot (ed. 1609, p. 433; 1611, p. 416) says Cape Breton; Champlain says Isle Orleans (ed. 1632, p. 294). See Le Clercq, i. 12.

try soon disgusted the garrison of the new fort. The Indians, on their side, took umbrage at these strangers and began to trouble them. All this, and probably de Roberval's slight delay in returning, forced Cartier to re-embark with all his party for France. Near Newfoundland they fell in with the viceroy, coming with a large convoy, who, partly by his persuasive manner and partly by threats of the royal indignation, induced them to return. 1542.

As soon as he had restored all things in his fort, he left Jacques Cartier there again with the mass of his party; then he ascended the St. Lawrence, entered the Saguenay even, and sent one of his pilots, Alphonse, a native of Portugal, according to some, or of Galicia, to others, to seek a route to the East Indies to the north of Newfoundland. Alphonse ascended to the fifty-second degree of latitude, but went no further. We are not told how long his voyage lasted, but there is every appearance that he did not find de Roberval in Canada, inasmuch as he made his report of discovery to Jacques Cartier.[1]

Mr. de Roberval apparently made other voyages to Canada, but, according to good authorities, he was detained in France for several years by the war which ensued between Francis I. and the Emperor Charles V., winning distinction in that war, as he had done on several other occasions. All agree that he embarked again in 1549 with his brother, esteemed one of the bravest men in France, and surnamed by Francis I. the *Gendarme d'Annibal*. They perished in this voyage, with all their companions, and it was never really known by what accident it happened.[2] With them per- 1549. His last voyage.

[1] See his Report, in Hakluyt, iii. Jacques Cartier is here dismissed by Charlevoix. We may add that he was born of a good family of St. Malo, in December, 1494, and May 2, 1519, married Marie Katherine des Granches, daughter of a knight. Cartier was then master pilot. After the voyages narrated in the preceding pages, he retired to Limoilou, near St. Malo, where an estate still bears his name. Here, ennobled by the king, he died about 1555, childless.

[2] Thevet, in his Cosmographie, says that Roberval was killed by night, near Saint Innocent, at Paris (Ferland, i. 45).

1549. ished all the hopes that had been conceived of establishing a colony in America, no one flattering himself with the possession of greater ability or success than these two brave men.

I do not see to whom we are to attribute an anonymous relation, without date, in the third volume of Ramusio, entitled, "Discourse of a great Sea Captain, a Frenchman of Dieppe, on voyages made to Newfoundland in the West Indies, called New France, from the fortieth to the forty-seventh degree, towards the Arctic pole, and on the land of Brazil, Guinea, the Island of St. Lawrence and that of Sumatra, as far as the French ships and caravels have sailed." Ramusio, whose preface at the head of this discourse distinguishes two voyages of this captain, the first in 1539 to Canada, Africa, and Brazil; the second to the East Indies, without mentioning the year, adds: "This discourse appears to us really a very fine one, worthy of being read by every one; and we regret much not to know the author's name, because did we know it we should not fail to name him, and not wrong the memory of so brave a man and accomplished a cavalier."[1]

1555. Expedition to Brazil. Why it failed.

After the death of the Robervals, Francis I. seems to have taken no more interest in America. In the succeeding reign, the voyage of some Frenchmen to Brazil having excited in France great ideas of the wealth of that country, Admiral Coligni proposed to King Henry II. to share them with the king of Portugal. His design was approved, as well as his choice, for executing it, of Nicholas Durand de Villegagnon, Knight of St. John of Jerusalem and Vice-Admiral of Brittany. He was a man of merit, but who, having had the misfortune to engage in the new errors, was not ashamed to lend himself to a project, the aim of which was less to acquire for France a part of Brazil, than secure there a resource for Calvinism, proscribed and persecuted in France. Happily for religion,

[1] This account, ascribed to John Parmentier, is in part a routier and in part an actual voyage, the two being greatly confused.

he at last opened his eyes; but not being after his conversion able to maintain his enterprise with the Catholics alone, this whole expedition ended in smoke. The Portuguese, alarmed at the marked preference of the Brazilians for the French, profited by the division which de Villegagnon's return to the Church had caused among his colonists; and to set their minds at rest, once for all, in that quarter, they put to death as pirates and vagabonds all the French who remained in Brazil after the departure of the vice-admiral.[1] 1555.

France, in the reigns of Francis II. and Charles IX., torn to its very foundation by civil war, seemed at first to have entirely lost sight of America. Yet amid all her storms, she had some tranquil days, and Admiral de Coligni again seized his opportunity to endeavor to effect elsewhere what he could no longer hope to accomplish in Brazil. He cast his eyes on that part of Florida which Verazani had discovered, and this country seemed to him the more adapted for a colony such as he projected, from the fact that besides the goodness of the climate and the fertility of the soil, he flattered himself that the French would find no one there to dispute their possession, or even molest them. 1562. Admiral de Coligni attempts to found a colony in Florida.

Florida is all that part of the continent of America lying between the two Mexicos, New France, and North Carolina. According to the Spaniards, it includes all east of the province of Panuco—that is to say, it has no limits in the north, east, and south; and all the French and English colonies in North America are in Florida and invasions on the Spanish crown. A modern author, Don André Gonzalez de Barcia,[2] supports his pretension on a Extent of Florida.

[1] As to this colony, see Jean de Lery, Histoire d'un Voyage fait en la Terre du Brésil, 1578; Ternaux, Archives de Voyage, i., reprinting Copie de Quelques Lettres, Paris, 1557; Histoire des Choses Memorables advenues en la Terre du Brésil, Genève, 1561; Nicholas Barré, Lettres sur la Navigation du Chevalier Villegaignon, Paris, 1558; Lescarbot, 142–184.

[2] Ensayo Cronologico de la Florida, 4o, Madrid, 1723. Basanier, Histoire Notable, i., etc.; De Gallorum expeditione in "Novæ Novi Orbis Historiæ," Geneva, 1578, p. 429.

1562. very ruinous foundation, basing it on the discoveries of Ponce de Leon, Luke Vasquez de Ayllon; and on the expeditions of Pamphilo de Narvaez and Hernando de Soto. Now, Ponce de Leon discovered Florida only in 1512, and several years before, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and the Portuguese Cortereal had made discoveries in North America. Ponce de Leon not only made no settlement in Florida, but on the two occasions when he landed, was obliged to re-embark at once, while the French, from the year 1504, had traded with the people of Canada. If Canada then is part of Florida, France in point of date is first in possession of Florida, and it would be ridiculous to make the imposition of a name by Ponce de Leon on a country lying on the Gulf of Mexico, give his nation a right to at least three-quarters of North America, to the exclusion of the French, who traded there and had formed alliances with nations five or six hundred leagues from his discovery.

Luke Vasquez de Ayllon discovered in 1520 the country on the Jordan, now part of Carolina. His expedition was as unsuccessful and as unproductive of results as that of John Ponce de Leon. Some years after,[1] Pamphilo de Narvaez obtained from the Emperor Charles V. the government of Florida. He visited almost all the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, had several engagements with the Indians, who killed many of his men, and at last perished miserably, without having even built a fort.[2]

Finally, Hernando de Soto[3] during three or four years made long marches through Florida, of which he had been made captain-general; but he advanced no further north than Carolina, and died on the banks of the Mississippi, without even attempting to plant himself on a single spot.[4]

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[1] 1527.

[2] Of this expedition we have the curious account of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, of which a translation, with notes, has been given by Buckingham Smith, 4o, Washington, 1851.

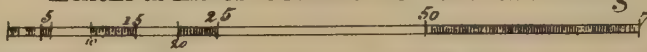
[3] 1538.

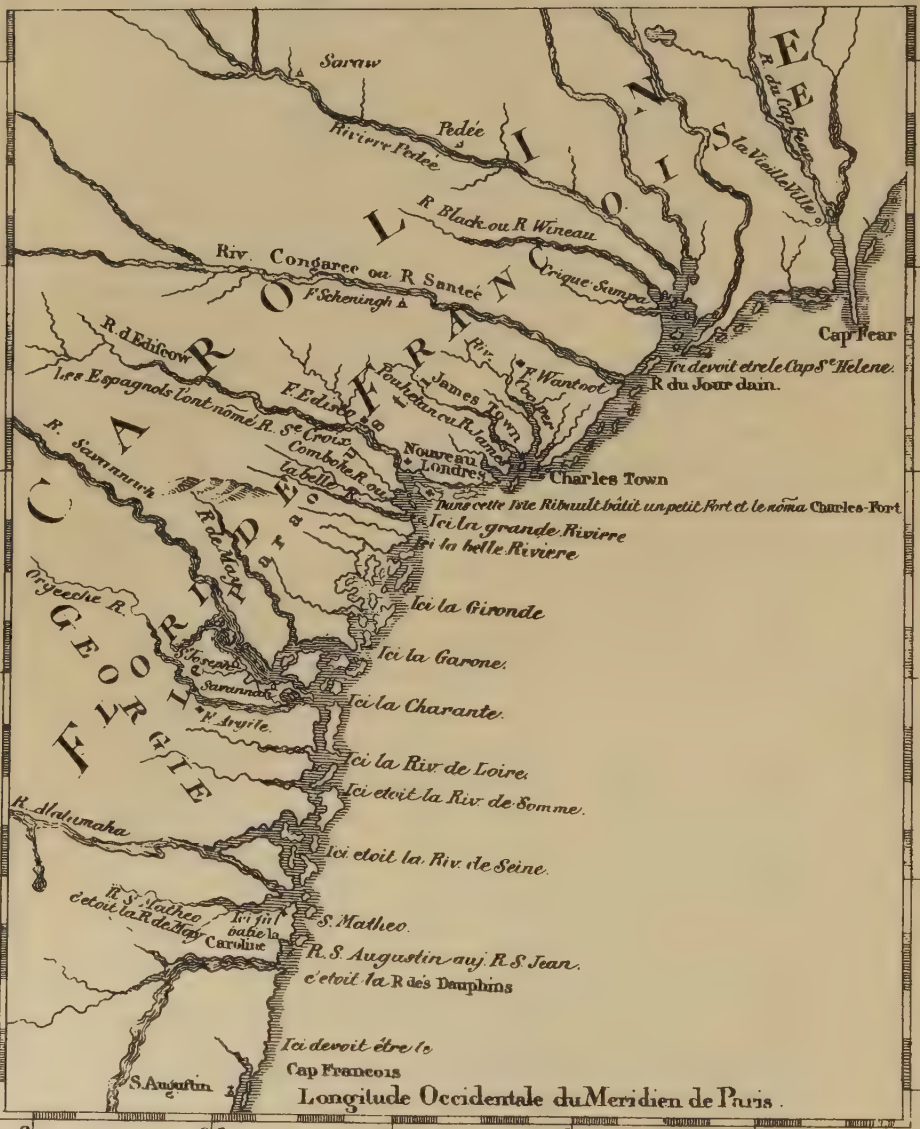
[4] As to De Soto, we have the Relaçam verdadeira . . per hũ fidalgo Deluas, Evora, 1557. See a new translation, with exhaustive notes, by Buckingham Smith, New York, 1866; and la Florida del Ynca o

CARTE DES COSTES DE LA FLORIDE FRANÇOISE

Suivant les premieres decouvertes *Dressee par N. Bellin Ingr de la Marine*

Echelle de Lieues communes de France de 25 au Deg





Louis de Moscoso, his successor, soon brought back to Mexico the sad remains of his army; and not a single Spaniard remained in Florida, which was consequently in about the same condition as it had been previous to the first discovery by Ponce de Leon. 1562.

It was still so twenty years later, when Admiral de Coligni formed the project of planting a colony there composed entirely of people of his religion; a project which, according to all appearances, he did not disclose to Charles IX., to whom he displayed it only as an enterprise extremely advantageous to France. That prince left him complete master, permitting him to use to the full extent the power given him by his office. It seems even, in the sequel, that he was not so ignorant, but quite pleased that de Coligni employed only Calvinists on the expedition, because they were so many enemies of whom he delivered the State.

John de Ribaut leader of the enterprise.

The admiral's chief anxiety was the selection of a leader on whom he could rely to carry out his project, and his choice fell on an old naval officer, named John de Ribaut, a native of Dieppe, a man of experience and a zealous Huguenot. He sailed from Dieppe the 18th of February, 1562, with two vessels of the kind then called *roberges*, and which differed but slightly from the Spanish caravels; he had picked crews and several volunteers, some of whom were gentlemen.[1]

He takes possession of French Florida.

The first land which he saw was a low, well-wooded point, at about 30° north, to which he gave the name of French Cape;[2] but he did not land there, and turning to the right he soon after discovered a river which he styled River of Dolphins, but he did not enter it. Still

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Historia del Adelantado Hernando de Soto, 8o, 1605, freely translated in T. Irving's Conquest of Florida.

[1] Ribauld, The Whole and True Discovery of Terra Florida (Hakluyt, Divers Voyages touching the Discóverie of America, London, 1582, rep.), p. 94; Basanier, L'Histoire Notable de la Floride, 15.

[2] Histoire Notable, p. 16. Ribauld (Whole and True Discovery, p. 197) says 29½°. Parkman thinks it one of the headlands of Matanzas Inlet. Pioneers of New France, p. 30.

1562. holding on the same course, he discovered another at about fifteen leagues from the former, and appearing to him to be much larger. He entered it on the 1st of May, and styled it May River.[1] He found Indians there in great numbers, and perceiving that his arrival gave them pleasure, he landed, and began to rear, on a sandy hill, a small stone column, on which he had engraved the arms of France. He then visited the chief of the Indians, with whom he exchanged presents.[2]

His discoveries.

He had in his mind the Jordan discovered by Luke Vasquez de Ayllon, and accordingly, after taking possession of the country in the name of the king and admiral of France, he re-embarked and kept on his northerly course, coasting along in sight of land. Fourteen leagues from May River he met a third, which he called the Seine.[3]

He then gave all the rivers, which he found for sixty leagues, the names of the chief rivers of France; but it was subsequently discovered that he had taken several inlets for mouths of rivers. At last, as he supposed, he discovered the Jordan, but he was deceived; it was still to the northward, and the river where he entered, and anchored in ten fathoms water, was afterwards called by the Spaniards Rio de la Santa Cruz. But the English, who have built on its banks the city of St. George or New London, have again changed the name to Edisto, and it is marked, in some of our maps, Shawnee River (Rivière des Chaouanons).[4]

He builds a fort.

Mr. de Ribaut, having no doubt but that it was the Jordan, called the spot where he had anchored Port Royal. He then planted (May 20) the arms of France, and next laid out on the island a small fort, which was soon ready to receive his party, and which he called Charles Fort.[5]

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[1] Ribauld, Whole and True Discovery, pp., 98, 100. Now the St. John's.

[2] Histoire Notable, p. 16; Ribauld, Whole and True Discovery, p. 103.

[3] Histoire Notable, p. 26.

[4] The Edisto does not enter Port Royal. The river emptying into the bay is the Broad.

[5] Histoire Notable, pp. 22–38; Ri-

He could scarcely have placed it better. The surrounding country is beautiful, the soil fertile, the river teeming with fish, the woods full of game, the laurels and the mastics diffuse a very sweet odor, and the Indians of the district testified no less friendship to the French than those of May River had done. However, de Ribaut, convinced that he could not make a more acceptable present to the admiral and the queen-mother, sought to induce some natives to accompany him to France, but could never gain a single one. 1562.

Description of French Florida.

What we have said of the neighborhood of Port Royal applies quite well to the whole country which has since borne the name of French Florida, and which lies between 30° and 35° north, from French Cape to Charles Fort. Several relations give it also the name of New France.[1] The soil is generally fertile, well watered, traversed by rivers, some of considerable size, and all abounding in fish. It was long believed that there were mines of gold, silver, and copper there, with pearls and precious stones; but as things were scrutinized more closely, it was found that there was, indeed, copper in some places, and poor enough pearls in two or three rivers, but that the gold and silver seen in the hands of the Indians came from the Spaniards, many of whom had been wrecked at the entrance of the Bahama Channel, and along the neighboring coast of Florida.[2] Their ships, almost always loaded with the wealth of America, were often lost on the sand-banks which line this coast, and the Indians were very careful to profit by their misfortunes. It was remarked that those nearer the sea were much better furnished than the others with their

The source of the wealth of the Floridians.

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bauld, Whole and True Discovery, p. 114. Charles Fort was apparently on Archer's Creek, called by Ribaut the Chenonceau, about the site of Beaufort, Port Royal and Parris Island being considered as one island, and that being the eligible spot likely to take the eye. Bancroft supposed it to have been on Parris Island. Compare Parkman, Pioneers of France, p. 34. He planted the French arms, May 20, near the River Libourne (p. 113).

[1] Laudonniere in the Histoire Notable, p. 4.

[2] Histoire Notable, p. 6.

1562. spoils. These Indians have a deeper color, more inclining to red, than those of Canada, caused by the oil with which they rub their bodies, and the nature of which has never been ascertained. In other respects, there was no sensible difference between them and other nations of North America. They use less covering, because they inhabit a warmer country; they are more dependent on their chiefs, styled in the French accounts Paraoustis or Paracoustis,[1] and to whom the Spaniards apply the general title of Caciques. But whatever idea the Spanish historians have sought to give us of the power and wealth of these Caciques, it dwindles in reality to insignificance.

The character of these people.

The Floridians are well formed, brave, proud, yet tractable enough when managed with mildness and reason. They are not as cruel to their prisoners as those of Canada; and although, like the latter, cannibals, they do not carry inhumanity so far as to make the sufferings of a miserable wretch a spectacle of pleasure, or torture an art. Women and children taken in war, they are satisfied with keeping in slavery; men they immolate to the sun, and deem it a religious duty to eat the flesh of these victims.

On the march and in battle the Paraoustis are always at the head of their troops, holding a tomahawk or a kind of war-club in one hand and an arrow in the other. The baggage is carried by hermaphrodites, of whom there are great numbers in the country, if we believe René de Laudonniere, an author who was long on the spot.[2] These people are also accustomed to scalp their fallen enemies; and in the rejoicings after a victory, the old women lead the procession, adorned with these scalps. They might then be taken for real megaræ, or furies. The Paraoustis can decide nothing on important occasions without assembling the council, where, before proceeding to business, they begin by swallowing a great draught of apalachine,

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[1] Histoire Notable, p. 97, etc.

[2] Basanier, Hist. Notable, pp. 7–9. These catamites are depicted in Le Moyne de Morgues, plate xvii.

which they then distribute to all who constitute the assembly.[1] 1562.

The sun is, in some sort, the only divinity of the Floridians;[2] all their temples are consecrated to it; but the worship which they render it varies according to the district. It is pretended that morals are very corrupt throughout Florida, and that the venereal disease, which the West Indies conveyed to Europeans, is very common there. It is certain, at least, that the nearer you approach Florida, from Canada, the more corrupt the Indians are found; and that the debauchery now seen among the Iroquois, and other nations still further north, springs, in a considerable degree, from their intercourse with the tribes of the West and South. Polygamy is permitted in Florida, only to the Paraoustis, and even they give the name of wife to only one; the rest being really slaves, transmitting to their offspring no right of inheritance from the father.[3] Their religion and morals.

Great honors are paid to these chiefs in life, and still greater after death.[4] Their burial-place is fenced in with arrows planted in the ground; and the cup from which they usually drank, is placed on the grave. The whole village weeps and fasts for three days. The cabin of the departed is burned, with all the articles specially used by him, as though no one was worthy to use them after him. Then the women cut off their hair, and scatter it over the tomb;[5] to which several go thrice a day, in turn, for six months, to weep. The Paraoustis of the neighboring towns come also to pay, ceremoniously, the last honors to the deceased. Honors paid to the chief.

They employ almost as much ceremony on the death of the ministers of religion,[6] who are also the physicians of the country, and who differ little from the medicine-men of Ministers of religion.

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[1] Basanier, Histoire Notable, p. 10. He calls it Casine.

[2] Ib., p. 8; Ribauld, Whole and True Discovery, p. 99.

[3] Histoire Notable, p. 8.

[4] Ib., p. 10; Le Moyne de Morgues, plate xi.

[5] Le Moyne de Morgues, plate xix.

[6] Histoire Notable, p. 11.

1562. Canada, except in being more given to divination; but they have to deal with a more superstitious people. The education given to children consists almost exclusively in training them to run, without distinction of sex; and prizes are offered to those who excel. Hence it follows that they are all, both men and women, of wonderful agility. You see them at the top of the highest trees before you see them climb. They are also very skilful in the use of the bow, and in hurling a kind of javelin, which they use very effectively in war. To conclude, they swim with extreme speed; even women, though burdened with their children, which they carry on their arms, swim over large rivers.[1]

Animals. The most common quadrupeds in this part of Florida are two kinds of lion, the stag, deer, bison (not differing from that of Canada), hind, otter, beaver, wolf, hare, rabbit, wildcat, and woodrat; but all are not found in the same districts. Most of our birds of prey and aquatic birds are seen everywhere; as well as partridges, wild pigeons, ringdoves, storks, guineahens, cormorants, many kinds of parrots, and various small birds. The humming-bird of Canada is not seen there in summer, but retires there in winter, this little animal being, apparently, unable to stand either extreme heat or cold. The rivers are full of alligators; the fields and woods of serpents, especially of those called rattlesnakes.

Trees. The forests abound in pines, which bear no fruit, oaks, walnuts, mulberry, lentisks, bourbon palms, chestnuts, cedar, cypress, laurel, palm-trees, and vines. Medlars are also found, with fruit larger and better than in France; and plum-trees, with very delicate plums.[2] It may well be that these plums are no other than the piakimines mentioned in my journal. But the tree most esteemed in the country is sassafras, which the Floridians call *palamé* or *pavama*.[3]

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[1] Histoire Notable, pp. 7, 13.

[2] Probably *P. Americana*, Hist. Notable, p. 5. Of the plums, he says: "Fort beau, mais non gueres bon."

[3] See description of animals and plants in Histoire Notable, p. 5; Ribauld, Whole and True Discovery, p. 101.

FATHER ISAAC JOGUES, S.J.
Founder of the Iroquois Mission
Killed Oct. 18, 1646

1562.
Sassafras.

It never grows larger than a moderate-sized pine, throws out no branches, and has a smooth trunk, and the top tufted, forming a kind of cup. The leaf is three-pointed, like that of a fig, of a dull green, and a pleasant odor, especially when dried; the young leaves are of the shape of the leaf of a pear-tree. The bark is polished, reddish, and tastes like aniseed. The wood is light, and has the aromatic taste and smell of fennel. The root is harder and heavier, and spreads on the surface only. This tree grows on the seashore and on the mountains, but always on a soil neither too dry nor too moist. Its wood is hot to the second degree, the bark almost to the third. When several of these trees grow together, they give an odor but little different from that of cinnamon.

Some Spaniards of St. Matheo and St. Augustine—that is to say, of Dolphin and May rivers—being almost all attacked with fever, caused by improper food, and the turbid, unhealthy water which they drank, were taught by some Frenchmen to use sassafras, as they had seen the Indians do. They cut the root into small pieces, and boiled them, drinking the decoction after fasting and at meals. It cured them perfectly. They subsequently tested it frequently, and if they are to be credited, there is scarcely any disease that resists this drink; it was their sole and universal remedy and preservative in Florida. But when provisions failed, they did not employ it; as it caused a hunger more insupportable than any disease could be. It is added that the sassafras is an admirable specific against venereal diseases; but the Indians apparently resort more frequently to esquine, not only against this terrible disease, but also against all of a contagious character.

In many diseases, the roots, small branches, and leaves of the sassafras are cut into small pieces, and a decoction made in this way. An ounce is steeped for a night in twelve pounds of water, then the whole is boiled at a slow fire, till the water loses one-third. But in this, regard must be had to the patient's condition, and he must diet

1562. himself strictly as long as he takes this remedy. It is even said to be very injurious in inveterate diseases, or when the patient is very weak. Some, before taking this remedy, purge themselves thoroughly, and this is the safest; but others merely make this decoction their ordinary drink, mixing it with a little wine, and do not first employ a purgative.

Sassafras has certainly always been regarded an excellent remedy for diseases of the stomach and chest, and generally for all arising from cold. Francis Ximenez says that being in great want of water, in the bay of Ponce de Leon, he thought of cutting sassafras in small bits, and steeping it in water almost as salt as the sea; after eight days he drank this water, and found it quite sweet.[1]

Simples. Among the shrubs of this country, the most remarkable is the cassine or apalachine, of which I have spoken elsewhere; and among the simples, none is more boasted of than the apoyomatsi or patzisiranda, which Francis Ximenez describes thus: Its leaves are like those of the leek, but longer and thinner. The stalk is a kind of rush, full of pulp, knotty, and a cubit and a half high. The flower is small and narrow; the root thin, long, full of knots or bosses, round and velvety. The Spaniards call them beads of St. Helen, and the French, patenotes. These balls, cut and exposed to the sun, become very hard, black without and white within. They have an aromatic odor, like galanga. They are dry and hot to the third degree, slightly astringent and resinous; yet are found only in moist and wet places.[2]

The Indians, after bruising the leaves of this plant between two stones, extract a juice with which they rub the whole body, after bathing, from a conviction that it strengthens the skin and gives it a pleasant odor. The Spaniards learned from them to reduce this simple to a powder, which they take in wine when they are attacked

[1] Ximenez. [2] Ib.

by the stone and pain in the kidneys, caused by any obstruction. For diseases of the chest, they pound it and take the decoction. They use it in plasters to stanch blood, to strengthen the stomach, and to allay the pains of the womb. 1562.

It is also asserted that ambergris is sometimes gathered all along the coast of Florida.

Ribaut returns to France.

Mr. de Ribaut, quite satisfied with his colony, thought only of returning to France for a re-enforcement. He made Albert, one of his captains, chief of the new colony, and left him as many men as were necessary to keep the Indians in awe.[1] He gave him rather a small stock of provisions, but promised to bring him, with all speed, a large convoy of provisions and munitions; after which he set sail, and reached Dieppe on the 20th of July.[2] The new commander had no sooner completed some remaining works, necessary to put the place beyond insult, than he set out to explore the country, according to the order given by the general. He visited several paraoustis, who welcomed him kindly; and one of them, named Andusta, invited him to a singular feast, a description of which would, I thought, be read here with pleasure.

Singular feast of the Floridians.

It was celebrated in honor of a deity named Toya. The laws of the country do not permit strangers to appear at it, and great precautions had to be taken to let the French witness it without being observed. Andusta first took them to a large round place, carefully cleared up by the women. The next morning at daybreak, a number of Indians, painted in various colors, and decked with plumes, sallied forth from the paraousti's cabin, which fronted on the square, around which they drew up in good order. Three joanas, as they call the ministers of their religion, then appeared, strangely attired, having some strange in-

[1] Ribaut left in the fort, under Albert de la Pierria, thirty men. Ribauld, Whole and True Discovery, pp. 113, 114. Lescarbot (i. 49) says forty.

[2] Basanier, Histoire Notable, p. 40. They left Port Royal, June 11. Ribauld, Whole and True Discovery, p. 114.

1562. strument in their hands. They advanced to the centre of the square, where, after dancing a long while—turning round and round, and chanting in a very lugubrious tone—the whole assembly replied in the same tone.

This was repeated three times; then both parties suddenly taking an impulse, as though some panic-terror had seized them, they began to run with all their might towards the woods. The women then came and took their husbands' places, and all day long did nothing but lament. From time to time, however, they seemed to be roused to fury, rushed at their daughters, gashed their arms with muscle-shells, filled their hands with blood from the wounds, and flung it up into the air, crying thrice, *Hé Toya!* Andusta, who attended the French, whom he had placed in a little hut, where they were not perceived, was much hurt to see them laugh, but he did not show his feelings then.

The men remained two days and nights in the woods, and returning to the place whence they started, they danced and sang anew, but in a more cheerful tone. They then played a number of rather amusing tricks; and the whole closed with a great feast, where all ate to excess, the chief actors having tasted nothing since the beginning of the feast. One of them afterwards related to the French, that during the two days that he had passed in the woods, the joanas had invoked the god Toya, who had appeared to them; that they had put to him several questions, which he had answered; but that they did not dare to reveal any thing that they heard, for fear of drawing upon themselves the indignation of the joanas.[1]

Misconduct of Captain Albert.

The expeditions made by Captain Albert may have been of some utility, but there was something far more pressing, of which he never thought. This was to sow the ground, so as to have wherewith to fill his stores. Admiral Coligni had enjoined nothing so earnestly; but men

[1] Laudonniere, in Histoire Notable, pp. 41–7.

thought only of hunting for mines, and would not give up the idea that there could be a single district in America where there were none. As long as the provisions brought from France lasted, and they had powder and lead, they lived well. Fishing was also, for a time, a great resource. But all this failed them almost simultaneously, as the fish frequent the rivers only at certain seasons. 1562.

They then had recourse to the natives, who did their best, as they were well treated; but this source was soon exhausted. An Indian's surplus is a small affair, especially for people strangers to the sobriety of the tribes, and still less to the power of going, as they do, for some days without food. To crown their misfortunes, a fire broke out in the fort, and in a few hours consumed it, with all the stores, just after they had laid up a large quantity of Indian corn, for which they had been obliged to go a great distance.[1] This loss was, nevertheless, repaired quite promptly; but a most tragic accident plunged the colony in disorder, and soon caused its entire ruin.

The commander of Charles Fort was an enterprising man, and not absolutely devoid of ability; but he was brutal to ferocity, and did not even observe the restraints of civilized intercourse. While a subaltern, this defect had not been apparent: authority put it in full light, or removed the check which restrained him. He punished the slightest fault, and excessively. He hung with his own hands a soldier who had not deserved death; he deprived another of his arms as unjustly, then exiled him, and it was believed that he intended he should die of hunger and hardship. He was constantly menacing the punishment of death, and no one could displease him and be sure of his life. His very language, it was said, would make a man's hair stand on end.

He at last exhausted the patience of the most moderate;

[1] Histoire Notable, pp. 46–50; Lescarbot (1612), p. 57.

1562. a conspiracy was formed, and he was dispatched the more easily that he was entirely unguarded, although he could not but know that he was feared and hated by all. The next thought was to appoint his successor, and the selection made was wiser than might have been expected from men whose hands were still reeking with their commander's blood. They put at the head of affairs a very worthy man, named Nicholas Barré, who by his prudence and address soon restored peace and order in the colony.[1]

He is killed by his own people.

Extremity to which the colony is reduced.

Meanwhile, Mr. de Ribaut did not return, and they beheld themselves on the verge of experiencing all the horrors of famine. They were at the discretion of the Indians in regard to food, and the new commander saw clearly that this could not last long without the risk of meeting, at the hands of these savages, something worse than famine. Full of these distressing thoughts, he assembled his council, laid before them the extremity to which they would soon be reduced and what was to be feared in future. This stated, there was but one voice: all agreed that without losing a day, they should build a vessel, and as soon as it was ready, re-embark for France, if succor did not arrive.

All embark to return to France.

But how accomplish this design, without shipwrights, sails, ropes, or rigging? Necessity, when extreme, sees no difficulties, and renders easy what under other circumstances would appear impossible. All set to work. Men who, all their life, had never handled axe or tool of any kind, found themselves become carpenters and blacksmiths. Moss, and a kind of hemp which grows on the trees in a great part of Florida, served to caulk the ship; every one gave his shirts and sheets to make sails; the ropes were made with the bark of trees; and in a short time the vessel was finished and launched. A little of this industry and this ardor, better applied, would have enabled them to subsist for a time; but they were dis-

[1] Histoire Notable, pp. 53, 54.

gusted with Florida, and would perhaps have regretted to see the succor arrive which they had so long anxiously awaited. It needs but little to awaken in the French breast that deep affection for his native land which he preserves under every vicissitude. 1562.

The ship equipped, they did not defer their departure a single day; and with the same confidence which had made them undertake the construction of a vessel without workmen or materials, they plunged unreflectingly into all the dangers which they could not but encounter on a vessel so built and equipped, and now manned by soldiers. The strangest feature was, that the only real evil which they sought to avoid, was the only one against which they neglected to provide. Our adventurers had not got far out to sea, when an obstinate calm arrested them. The provisions which they had taken on board were soon consumed, and they were at last reduced to a daily allowance of twelve or fifteen grains of maize apiece.

They eat one of their number.

Even this scanty allowance did not last long. Their shoes, and every thing of leather on board, was devoured. Fresh water also failed. Some drank sea-water, and died. The vessel leaked everywhere, and the crew, perishing with hunger, were in no condition to stop it. At last the wretched men, with no food or drink of any kind, expecting to see their craft go down at any moment, lost heart entirely, and abandoned themselves to their sad fate.

In this despair, some one said that one might, by the sacrifice of his own life, save the rest; and this strange proposal was not only not rejected with horror, but was highly applauded. They had almost agreed to draw lots for the victim, when Lachau,[1] the soldier whom Captain Albert had driven out, after depriving him of his arms, declared his willingness to anticipate the death he deemed inevitable, if it could for some days prolong the life of his

[1] Lachère. See Laudonniere, in Histoire Notable, p. 58. For the account of this voyage generally, see pp. 54–9. Lescarbot (1611), p. 60.

1562. companions. He was taken at his word, and killed on the spot, without the slightest resistance on his part. Not a drop of his blood was lost: all drank it with avidity. The body was cut to pieces, and each one had his share.

What became of them. This first step taken, others would apparently, willingly or otherwise, have met the fate of Lachau, had they not soon after discovered land, and almost at the same time a vessel approaching. It proved to be an English vessel, having on board one of the Frenchmen who had left Florida with Mr. de Ribaut. This man informed them that the civil war, which was rekindled more furiously than ever soon after they left France, had caused Admiral de Coligni to abandon them as he had done; but that peace had no sooner been concluded, than the admiral took all necessary steps to succor the colony, whose success he had so much at heart.

New expedition to Florida. It was, in fact, the first matter laid before the king by the admiral, when he was permitted to reappear at court; and Charles IX. gave him three ships,[1] well equipped and supplied with all necessary to revictual Charles Fort. He confided the command to René de Laudonniere,[2] a good naval officer, who had also served with distinction on land. He was, moreover, acquainted with Florida, having accompanied Mr. de Ribaut two years before. He was supplied with artisans skilled in every trade that could be of any use in a new colony. Several young men of noble families and gentlemen volunteered to go at their own expense, and detachments of soldiers were selected from old corps and sent. The admiral took especial care to have no

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[1] The Ysabeau, of Honfleur, 120 tons, John Lucas captain; Le Petit Breton, of Dieppe, 100 tons, Vasseur captain; the Faulcon, 60 tons, Peter Marchant captain. Histoire Notable, p. 61. Copie d'une Lettre venant de la Floride in Terraux, p. 234.

[2] Laudonniere in Histoire Notable, p. 61. Charlevoix says Laudonniere or Landonniere; but Garneau, in his Histoire du Canada (3d ed., i. 30, n.), states, on the authority of Leon Guérin (Histoire Maritime de France, vol. ii.), that the true name is René de Goulaine de Laudouinière, Laudouinière being a fief of the Goulaine family.

Catholic in the expedition. The king gave fifty thousand crowns to Laudonniere, and Jacques le Moyne de Morgues,[1] who was in this adventure, is apparently mistaken in putting this present of Charles IX. at one hundred thousand crowns. This is not the only point in this voyager's relation where he disagrees with Mr. de Laudonniere. 1564.

The French arrive in Florida.

The three ships sailed from Havre-de-Grace on the 22d of April, 1564,[2] two of them bearing as pilots the brothers Michael and Thomas le Vasseur, two of the most experienced navigators of France at that day.[3] Laudonniere took the route of the Canary Isles, coasted by most of the lesser Antilles, and on the 22d of June reached Florida.[4] Some days after, he cast anchor at the mouth of Dolphin River, which he entered in his longboat, but left it, to the great regret of the Indians, who made every effort to retain him. Thence he passed to May River, and found at his landing the paraousti Saturiova,[5] with a great number of his subjects.

Veneration of the Indians for the arms of France.

Most of them recognized him; and they all, after manifesting great friendship, led him to the spot where Mr. de Ribaut had set up the arms of France on a stone column. These savages had imagined that there was something mysterious in this monument; and in this conviction, they had gone there to make offerings, which in fact still surrounded it. They paid it, in the presence of the French, a respect which had all the appearance of religious worship.[6] As Laudonniere then remained at May River, he was there apparently informed of the abandonment of Charles Fort, which he seems not to have known at his departure from France.

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[1] Le Moyne de Morgues, Brevis Narratio eorum quæ in Florida, Americæ provincia Gallis acciderunt (de Bry, 2d Navig. Frankfort, 1591), p. 6.

[2] Histoire Notable, p. 62; Le Moyne, Brevis Narratio, p. 6.

[3] Le Moyne, Brevis Narratio, p. 6.

[4] Histoire Notable, p. 67; Le Moyne, Brevis Narratio, p. 7.

[5] This name is given by Laudonniere, Satouriona (Histoire Notable, p. 70). The Spanish write Saturiba. The true French form may be Satouri-oua.

[6] Histoire Notable, pp. 69, 70.

1564. Be that as it may, he paid a visit to Saturiova the day after his arrival, and informed him of his desire to see the country watered by the river. The paraousti consented, on condition that the voyage should not be long. A party of Indians also accompanied the French for some time, marching along both banks of the river, and incessantly repeating the word "friend." Laudonniere did not go very far; and pitching his tent at the foot of a small hill, ordered his lieutenant, the Sieur d'Ottigny, and his ensign, the Chevalier d'Erlach,[1] to ascend the river for several days.

Laudonniere explores the country on River May.

These two officers soon met Indians who did not depend on Saturiova, and who, after recovering from the fright caused by the first sight of the French, took them to an old paraousti, whom they declared to be two hundred and fifty years old, and the father of six generations—which was very little for that advanced age. This man was, in fact, very decrepit and blind, with only a livid skin clinging to his bones.[2] One said to be his son appeared to be, at most, a man of sixty.

Beauty of the country.

D'Ottigny and d'Erlach did not push their explorations beyond this point, and returned to the place where they had left their commander. As soon as they joined him, all together ascended the hill at the foot of which Mr. de Laudonniere had encamped, and from it they beheld a most agreeable country. The river, of fine width as far as the eye could reach, watered great plains, which showed every appearance of fertility. These plains were skirted by woods, the extremely tall trees being interwoven with vines, laurels, lentisks, which embalmed the air with odors. This charming view was bounded on one side by the sea, and on the other by a chain of mountains, which the Indians long persuaded the French to be rich in mines.[3]

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[1] The documents have it d'Arlach, an effect of mispronunciation. This gentleman was a Swiss, and there is no house in Switzerland better known than d'Erlach.—*Charl.*

[2] Histoire Notable, pp. 72–5.

[3] Ib., p. 76. The hill is St. John's Bluff

1564.

Men readily believe what they desire, and the slightest indications are an assurance. All the new colonists had come to Florida solely to seek gold and silver; and while the spirit of libertinism and sloth made it insupportable to cultivate the earth, which would soon have repaid them their sowing a hundredfold, they counted as nothing the hardships and danger to be met in their distant search for what they had no assurance of finding. It was to be the more regretted that by this frivolous allurement, they allowed themselves to be foolishly involved in an affair capable of smothering the rising colony in its very cradle.

The French allow themselves to be persuaded that there are mines in Florida.

Laudonniere, on returning to Saturiova, asked him whence came a piece of silver, which the chief had presented him on his arrival. The latter, who had his own designs, and already saw the foible of the French, answered that it came from quite a distant country, and that Timagoa the paraousti, to whom the country belonged, was his mortal enemy. Laudonniere fell into the snare laid by the crafty paraousti, and offered to attend him with a part of his force, if he chose to make war on his enemy. Saturiova took him at his word, and assured him, on his part, that after Timagoa's defeat, if he was seconded by the French, he would enable him to find as much gold and silver as he wanted.[1]

They unadvisedly engage in war.

Notwithstanding these reciprocal promises, Laudonniere either repenting his hasty engagement, or wishing to see whether he could not make himself master of the mines,

They continue to explore the country.

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[1] Hist. Notable, p. 77. The hostile tribe is given by Laudonniere as Thimogona. Here too, apparently, *n* and *u* are confounded, and it should be Thimogoua. It is, in fact, sometimes given (see p. 104) Thimogoa. It is the extensive tribe called by the Spaniards, Timuqua, and sometimes Tinqua, the second syllable being evidently obscure. The Timuqua language is the first of those in the United States in which books were printed. (See Historical Magazine, ii. p. 1; Ludwig, Literature of American Aboriginal Languages, p. 242.) They extended from the Georgian coast down to Sta. Lucia, and west to the Apalaches. Besides the ancient works, a petition to the king of Spain from the Timuqua chiefs has recently been printed by Buckingham Smith.

1564. without being under obligation to the Indians, re-embarked the next day with all his force, and leaving May River, entered first the Seine, then the Somme, where he met the paraousti of that canton, with his wife and four grown daughters, who did not seem to him very ill-made for Floridian girls. The paraousti received him perfectly well, and among other presents, gave him a small ball of silver. He invited the French to spend some days with him, but Laudonniere excused himself, and re-embarked at once.[1]

Deliberation on the site of the colony.

He then held a council to deliberate on the course to be adopted. He first stated his positive orders to make a solid settlement, and added, that the only question was a choice of place. He then represented that Cap François was apparently too low and wet a country; that Charles Fort had been built in a very convenient port, but that he did not believe the ground so fertile as that of May River; and that, moreover, as far as he could judge, this river was the easiest and shortest route to the mines spoken of. In the disposition in which all were, this last reason was conclusive; every one was of the commander's advice. They turned about at once, and the next day, the 29th of June, the three ships were at an early hour at the mouth of May River.[2]

Fort Caroline built. Errors of geographers and historians on this point.

The next day the fort was laid out in a very advantageous spot, about two leagues from the sea:[3] all labored with extreme diligence, and it was named Caroline. This name has misled many authors, who have supposed that it was the origin of that now borne by one of the finest Eng-

[1] Laudonniere in Basanier, Histoire Notable, pp. 78, 79. The chief gave them several silver balls.

[2] Histoire Notable, pp. 80, 81. "Pour nos premières années il nous estoit beaucoup plus nécessaire d'habiter ès lieux abondans en vivres, que non pas ès ports gaillards, beaux, profonds et plaisans à la veue." Laudonniere.

[3] A modern Spanish author (Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, 442, 472) confounds Caroline with Charles Fort, or rather pretends that Ribaut's fort was called Caroline, and Laudonniere's Charles Fort.—*Charlev.* Fort Caroline was on the St. John's, and according to Coppie d'une lettre venant de la Floride (Paris, 1565), "up the river, six leagues distant from the sea."

lish colonies in North America. Some have even supposed that what was previously styled French Florida was now commonly called Caroline; but this is not so. The Carolina of to-day is so little indebted for its name to Charles IX., king of France, that it does not include all that we called French Florida, or New France, as I have already remarked, and Laudonniere's Fort Caroline is now in Spanish Florida, as we shall soon see. 1564.

This fortress was of triangular form,—the western or land side was defended by a ditch, bordered by a parapet of turf nine feet high; two others had a gabioned palisade; and at the angle which looked out to the sea was a bastion containing the magazine. The whole was constructed of fascines covered with sods. The interior was a parade eighteen paces square, with a high house facing it on the north, soon prostrated by the winds, and on the south a guard-house. The oven was set without the inclosure of the citadel, to avoid the fires which the frequent and violent winds of that coast would make the more difficult to check, as the barracks, where all lived, were covered merely with palm-leaves.[1] Description of Caroline.

Mr. de Laudonniere, in the accounts of what passed before his eyes in Florida, gives high praise to Saturiova, whose subjects, he says, aided him greatly in the works which he found it necessary to erect. De Morgues, on the contrary, represents this paraousti as taking umbrage greatly at having a fortress built on his land, and as greatly shocked at the haughty and independent attitude of the French commander towards him. In this diversity of opinion there is nothing surprising; do we not daily see persons living together think differently about those with whom they have to deal—some to distrust, others to confide implicitly in them? Our only conclusion from the

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[1] Laudonniere in Histoire Notable, p. 84. Le Moyne de Morgues, Brevis Narratio, p. 8. There is a plan of the fort in Le Moyne, pl. x., and in the Copie d'une lettre, in Ternaux's Recueil.

1564. account of the two historians is, that the Indian chief maintained with the French leader a course which the latter took as a mark of sincere friendship, but which those who scrutinized more closely attributed to fear or policy.[1]

Conduct of the Indians towards the French.

It is certain that the Indians did not discontinue bringing to Caroline indian meal, dried meat, a kind of lizard, which these nations eat as a delicacy, roots, some medicinal and others very nourishing; sometimes gold, silver, pearls, precious stones; and that Mr. de Laudonniere was obliged to order his people, under pain of death, to carry to the public store all the metals, pearls, and stones received from the natives. But the supply of these treasures soon failed.

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[1] Charlevoix is in error. Le Moyne de Morgues, Brevis Narratio, p. 8, represents them as aiding to build the fort, as Laudonniere does, p. 84. Saturiva subsequently, and not unreasonably, took offence at Laudonniere's reluctance to keep his promise of aiding him in war.

BOOK II.

BOOK II.

As soon as the fortress was finished, Mr. de Laudonniere sent back to France one of his vessels to solicit a re-enforcement, and began to build, with all expedition, two vessels, with a view of sending them up the neighboring rivers for provisions.[1] He then resumed his project of exploring May River, sending d'Ottigny up with instructions to penetrate as far into the country as he could, especially to examine carefully that ruled by Timagoa, and to neglect no means of discovering the truth of Saturiova's reports with regard to mines. 1564.

D'Ottigny discharged his commission strictly; he entered Timagoa, for in that part of Florida every canton bears the same name as the chief,[2] and it is apparently the chief who assumes that of his little State. There he found neither gold nor silver; but one of his soldiers, sent to explore, brought back about six pounds of silver,[3] and great hopes of obtaining much more from a very distant country. New discoveries.

Thus the mines seemed to recede as they thought they neared them,—like the fabled spectres, which weary out

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He sent back the Ysabeau of Honfleur, as soon as he began to build. Le Moyne de Morgues, Brevis Narratio, pp. 7–9; Laudonniere in Basanier, Histoire Notable, p. 97. The letter sent to Rouen, and published in 1565, went evidently by this vessel, although the name is not given. It is reprinted by Ternaux in his Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride, p. 233.

[2] Garcilaso de la Vega says the same of the part where de Soto landed.—*Charlevoix.* It would seem, however, to be really the name of the tribe. See note, p. 151.

[3] Laudonniere in Basanier. Histoire Notable, p. 89.

1564. those who pursue them, and vanish as they think they lay their hands upon them. Our adventurers were not, however, discouraged, and were ever buoyed up by chimerical hopes, which prevented their obtaining, at far less cost, real advantages more precious than mines. They saw at last, although somewhat too late, that the Indians sought merely to delude them, while they gradually stripped them of their goods. The savages did not even agree with each other as to the points where these mines were to be found. Most, however, declared that there was yellow iron in the mountains of Apalache. The same had been told the Spaniards, and it is pretended that copper has been really found there; and even some grains of gold among the sand washed down by the mountain torrents.[1]

Strange custom of the Indians.

During the voyage just mentioned, one of the brothers le Vasseur had a singular adventure. As he was returning from Timagoa, he stopped with a paraousti, at war with that nation, who asked him whether he had destroyed his enemies. The pilot replied that he had killed some, and that if the chief had not been warned of his march, and secured himself in the woods, not one would have escaped. There was not a word of truth in what he said; but he imagined that if he spoke otherwise, the paraousti would have taken him for an ally of Timagoa, and given him trouble. The paraousti then asked him whether he had taken any scalps. No, replied le Vasseur, it is not a custom with us Frenchmen.

Then one of the paraousti's people took an arrow, which had been stuck in the ground, and struck one of his comrades who was sitting a little way off, crying, "*Hiou*," then replaced the arrow where it had been; but seizing it a moment after, again pierced the same Indian with it, repeating the same cry. The wounded man at once stretched himself out at full length on the ground, apparently with-

[1] The gold region of North Carolina explains all the early allusions, but it was unknown in Charlevoix's day.

out life or motion, his legs and body stiff. In an instant his brothers, sisters, and mother came to weep over him. During all this comedy the paraousti and most of his retinue drank deep of apalachine, without uttering a word, or seeming to pay any attention to what was going on. Le Vasseur, astonished at what he saw, approached the chief, and asked what it meant, but he answered only by repeating in a very languishing voice, "Timagoa, Timagoa." 1564.

The pilot applied to another Indian, to be better informed; but this savage, after giving him the same reply, begged him not to ask any more. Meanwhile, the wounded man had been carried off, and le Vasseur was curious to see what they were doing with him. He found him surrounded by a crowd of Indians, of both sexes, weeping, and he saw some girls warming a kind of moss, with which they rubbed the wounded man's body. At last, after some time, he seemed to revive; in fact he had not been much hurt. The paraousti then told the pilot, that when a war-party returned without a scalp, the dearest child of the chief had to be struck in this way with arms such as the enemy used, in order to renew and impress more deeply on their minds the injuries received from them, and to animate them more and more to vengeance.[1]

Laudonniere refuses to accompany Saturiova in war.

At this juncture, Saturiova reminded Laudonniere of his promise to be a friend of his friends, and an enemy of his enemies, and asked whether he was inclined to accompany him on an expedition in which he had just engaged with his vassals, against Timagoa. The commander replied that he had not forgotten his promise, but that his presence was still necessary in his fort; that, moreover, he had not provisions enough for such a march, but that if he would wait two months he would march with him at the head of his soldiers. This delay did not suit the paraousti, whose troops were already assembled; he imagined even that the French merely sought to gain time, in order to break their

[1] Laudonniere in Basanier, Histoire Notable, pp. 95–7.

1564. word with impunity, but he revealed nothing then. He set out with his army, which, with the auxiliary troops, was at most five hundred men; a force that gives no exalted idea of this pretended monarch, styled in some of our relations the great king Saturiova.[1]

Ceremony on preparing to march to war.

Before taking the field, he drew up his force in line of battle, and advancing to the bank of the river, halted to perform a ceremony, which the religion of these nations makes indispensable. He began by sitting on the ground, his vassals assuming the same position around him. He then asked for water, which was brought to him in a vessel. As soon as he took it into his hand, he seemed to enter into an agitation like that of the pythonesses and sibyls, as described by the poets. His eyes rolled fearfully in his head, and he turned them incessantly towards the sun. This lasted half an hour, with a violence that defies description.

Becoming calmer, he poured a little water on the head of each of his vassals; then, as if seized with an impulse of rage, he threw the rest into a fire kindled on purpose, crying with all his might, "Hé Timagoa." The whole army at once caught up the cry, and at this signal the chiefs rose, and all at once embarked. This ceremonial was afterwards explained to the French. They were told that Saturiova during all the time of his enthusiasm, incessantly implored of the sun victory over his enemies, and that the very fervor of his prayer put him in the state in which he was seen. While pouring water on the heads of his vassals, he offered his vows to obtain their return loaded with scalps of his enemies, and by casting water into the fire, he showed his desire to shed the last drop of the blood of Timagoa.[2]

After two days sailing, the warriors were within ten

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[1] Laudonniere, Histoire Notable, pp. 97–8; Le Moyne, Brevis Narratio, p. 9.

[2] Laudonniere, p. 99. Le Moyne de Morgues depicts the scene in his eleventh plate.

leagues of the village which they wished to attack. Here they held a council, and it was resolved that half the force should keep on by water, the rest by land, and that both parties should at daybreak burst into the hostile town by different points; that all the men should be killed, but the women and children spared to enslave. All this was executed exactly, the enemy were surprised, and all able to resist cut to pieces; only twenty-four prisoners were taken. The victors fearing to be cut off on their retreat, scarcely took time to scalp the dead, and return thanks to the sun for so signal a success. They regained their periaguas in haste, and re-embarked after dividing the captives; as for booty, these tribes are not accustomed to load themselves with it, and there is very little to gain with people who fight naked, and always take great care to hide their provisions.[1]

1564.

Saturiova's victory.

Saturiova, to whose share fell thirteen prisoners, reached home the day after the action, and as soon as the scalps which he brought appeared at his door, adorned according to custom with laurel, the whole town was in tears till evening. Then the scene changed, and the whole night was spent in rejoicing. The next day Laudonniere sent to congratulate the paraousti on his victory, and to beg him to give him two of his prisoners. His intention was to send them back to Timagoa, in order to gain the goodwill of that nation; for, considering all things, he had very wisely concluded it to be for the interest of the colony to live well with all these nations, and to reconcile them with each other if possible. Happy, had he always adhered to that resolution.[2]

What passed between him and Laudonniere as to the prisoners.

Saturiova's reply was a refusal, accompanied with some reproaches. The commandant believed that his honor did not permit him to show weakness with these Indians. He set out at once with forty men, fully armed, and repaired to the paraousti's cabin. He entered alone, after

[1] Laudonniere in Basanier, p. 100. [2] Ib., p. 101.

1564. surrounding it with his soldiers, sat down beside him without saluting him, remained there for a time, without addressing him a word, then asked where his prisoners were. Saturiova, surprised to see himself thus braved in his very cabin, remained also for a time silent, then replied in a haughty tone, that his prisoners, alarmed at the sight of the French, had fled to the woods, and that he did not know where to seek them.

Laudonniere pretended not to hear, and raising his voice, said that he wished to see the prisoners, and that they should be produced at once. Then Saturiova ordered one of his people to go for them, and a moment after they appeared. The poor wretches saw at once, by the air of the French chief, that it was not his intention to injure them, and wished to throw themselves at his feet, but he did not give them time; he rose, left the cabin, and bade them follow him. He took them into his fort, where he treated them well; then put them in the hands of Mr. d'Erlach, and one of the two le Vasseurs, with orders to take them back to their country. He at the same time informed Saturiova of what he had just done, adding, that he did so to restore peace between him and Timagoa. The two envoys were, moreover, instructed to omit no means to secure Timogoa's fidelity; then to go and find a great chief named Outina (on whom it appears Timagoa depended, and whose power had been greatly exaggerated to the French chief), to salute him on his behalf, and to contract an alliance with him.[1]

Extraordinary thunder and its effects.

Meanwhile, Saturiova could not but resent the manner in which he had just been treated, but he was sufficiently master of himself to dissemble his resentment till he found a favorable moment for revenge. He even sent word to the commandant of Caroline that he might treat with Timagoa as he thought proper, and that he would abide by all he agreed upon. He affected to give him more marks

[1] Laudonniere in Basanier, pp. 103–4.

of confidence than ever, and made him several presents. 1564.
His design was to banish all distrust, so as to surprise him more easily; but one of the strangest accidents, which I relate only under the guarantee of those who aver that they were eye-witnesses, induced the paraousti to believe that the surest and most advantageous course for him was to live on good terms with the French.

On the 21st of August, it thundered in such a surprising manner, half a league from Caroline, that not only the air, but the fields seemed on fire. This first storm was followed by several others, in close succession on each other, for three days; and what is peculiar, the river was so heated, that it was seen to boil, and a prodigious quantity of fish died. The woods also took fire in several places, and so suddenly that all the birds had not time to escape, and great numbers perished.[1]

The French did not know what to think of what they saw; some imagined that the Indians, in order to compel them to leave the country, had set fire to their fields and their woods, so as to deprive them of all resource, and to cause them to perish by hunger, if they obstinately remained. But the Indians had quite different ideas in their heads, and Laudonniere, who perceived it, took care not to disabuse them. They had had no doubt but that all this uproar was caused by the French commander, and they sent to ask Laudonniere to stop it as soon as possible, in order to arrest the general conflagration which menaced them.[2]

How Laudonniere profited by it.

Those who came with this petition were subjects of one of Saturiova's vassals,[3] from whom Laudonniere had also demanded his prisoners, and who obstinately refused them. The commandant answered the envoys, that the misfortunes, whose consequences they so justly dreaded, were the just retribution of their master's misconduct, and it

[1] Laudonniere, in Basanier, pp. 105–7.
[2] Ib., p. 106.
[3] Allicamany. Laudonniere in Basanier, Histoire Notable, p. 106.

1564. was his intention to go and burn him in his cabin, if he persisted in his refusal. This stratagem met with the desired success; the paraousti, without a moment's delay, sent him his prisoners, and the fire soon after ceased. The French had foreseen this; but the Indian chief was still so alarmed, that he fled to a distance of twenty-five leagues, and did not appear for two months. Meanwhile, the air was so heated, and the water of the river so tainted by the immense quantity of dead fish which covered it, that most of those who drank it at the time fell sick, though none of the French died.[1]

Mr. d'Erlach, with five Frenchmen, enables an Indian chief to gain a great victory.

On the 10th of September, d'Erlach and le Vasseur set out with a sergeant and ten soldiers, to conduct the prisoners in question back to Timagoa. After fulfilling their commission, they went on to Outina, who resided ninety leagues from Caroline, and were received by that paraousti with great demonstrations of joy. He was preparing to march against one of his enemies, named Potanou, and urged Mr. d'Erlach to join him in the expedition; that officer, however, took with him only half his escort, sending the rest back to the fort under le Vasseur. The latter bore a letter for the commandant, in which d'Erlach requested orders as to the stay he was to make at Outina.

That chief took the field a few days after with a small army, hoping to take his enemy by surprise; but he was greatly disconcerted to behold him actually advancing against him in full force. D'Erlach reassured him, and having at the first volley from his firelock stretched Potanou himself on the ground, the whole grand army lost heart and fled, although one of the French too was killed by an arrow at the first discharge. He was indeed well avenged; d'Erlach and Outina made great carnage among the fugitives, and brought in many prisoners.[2] They had

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[1] Laudonniere in Basanier, Histoire Notable, pp. 107, 108.

[2] Laudonniere in Basanier, Histoire Notable, pp. 108, 109. In Basanier the word is printed Potavou; in Le Moyne, Potanou.

scarcely returned to Outina, when a boat sent by Laudonniere came for d'Erlach, to whom the paraousti made some very fine presents. He sent presents also to the commandant of the French, among which were pieces of gold and silver. He also pledged his word to d'Erlach, that if the French needed his subjects they should always find six hundred ready to serve them against all the world.[1] 1564.

De Laudonniere had been obliged to recall d'Erlach, from the fact that he had been warned of a secret conspiracy against him. The volunteers, several of whom were, as I have said, gentlemen, took it ill that the commandant should employ them in the same labors as the lowest mechanics; and all complained that he had not brought to Florida a single minister, so that there was no public exercise of religion. But the cause of discontent in the majority was, that the provisions were on the eve of failing entirely. Moreover, an adventurer had persuaded most of them that he had a secret to find gold-mines, which the commandant would not permit him to test.[2] Sedition at Caroline.

Laudonniere's conduct, wise as it was, had been regarded as pure tyranny. It was loudly declared that the intention of the king and the admiral was, that nothing should be neglected to discover all the riches contained in the country; and it was incessantly repeated, that neither Mr. de Coligni nor his majesty intended to send so many men of good family to America, to be treated as slaves and die of hunger. This language soon passed from private conversations to public meetings, and from murmurs they came to conspire against the commandant's life, who had no little to do to guard against the snares laid for him at different times.[3]

He nevertheless deemed that the worst course for him to adopt in so critical a juncture, would be to relax.

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[1] Laudonniere in Basanier, Histoire Notable, p. 109.

[2] Ib., p. 110. There is no mention in Laudonniere of any complaint of want of ministers.

[3] Ib., pp. 110–13.

1564. He began by subjecting to the penalty of the law a wretch who abused his confidence to betray him. He then sent back to France[1] those of the mutineers from whom he believed that he had most to fear, availing himself for that purpose of a ship which arrived in Florida in the month of September and sailed back on the 10th of November. He believed that it would then be easier for him to be master. But he was mistaken: the fire of sedition was not only not extinguished, but, on the contrary, made the greater progress from the too speedy conviction of the commandant, that the factious were deprived of leaders. He soon saw his error, and took other steps to baffle all these plots. All whom he thought he should most distrust, he sent under a gentleman named la Rocheferriere to Outina, with orders to complete the exploration of that canton,[2] and he kept with him d'Ottigny and d'Erlach, his two highest officers, most devoted, as he knew, to his person.

His firmness on that occasion.

These precautions were wisely taken, but Laudonniere did not know all the malcontents. A few days after the departure of la Rocheferriere, thirteen sailors carried off one of the two barks, used to go for provisions, and disappeared.[3] Two carpenters, newly arrived from France, seized the other, and it was never known what became of them.[4] As such boats were indispensable, Laudonniere had two others built, but they were not finished when an open revolt deprived the commandant of that resource, and the colony of half its inhabitants.

Several French disappear.

A Genevan, named Etienne, and two Frenchmen, Fourneaux and La Croix, counselled some of the volunteers and many of the soldiers to go on a cruise against the Spaniards, persuading them that the capture of a vessel of that nation, or the plunder of the least petty settlement, would

The mutineers wish to go on a cruise.

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[1] Laudonniere in Basanier, p. 114. He sent the malcontents back by Captain Bourdet.

[2] Ib., p. 113; Le Moyne de Morgues, Brevis Narratio, p. 12.

[3] Laudonniere, in Basanier, p. 114.

[4] Ib., p. 115. Some suppose these runaways referred to in Hawkins (Hakluyt, iii., p. 517), but he evidently refers to the mutineers.

be enough to enrich them forever. The scheme was soon concerted; and the number of these new pirates was sixty-six, some of whom, however, joined in it rather from fear of ill-treatment which the conspirators threatened, than from any hope or desire of bettering their fortunes. Their preparations were made with great secrecy; and one day when the commandant was sick in bed, five of the most resolute entered his room well armed: four stopped at the door, and one alone approaching the bed, told him that they were resolved to go on a cruise along the Spanish Isles.[1] 1564.

They force the commandant to sign a commission.

He replied, that before carrying out such a project, there were many things to be thought of, and that they could not be ignorant that the king and the queen regent had expressly forbidden him to allow any under his orders to undertake any thing against the Spanish colonies. "All has been considered, sir," replied the conspirator; "it is an irrevocable step; and any opposition on your part is vain." Fearful oaths followed this insolent reply, and the four others coming in, swearing away in the same style, they began to rummage every hole and corner of the room, in which they left nothing that could be of the least use to them. They even wounded a gentleman, who ran up at the noise and endeavored to repress their violence.

They did more. They seized the commandant, and carried him to a vessel anchored off the fort, where they kept him under close watch for two weeks, with a valet whom they left to wait upon him. They wished especially to get la Caille, a sergeant, bent on taking his life; but he escaped, and took to the woods. They finally drew up a commission, such as they wished, to cruise in the Gulf of Mexico, and took it to Laudonniere, whom they forced, with a dagger at his throat, to sign it. In the same way, they compelled one of the two le Vasseurs to give

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[1] Laudonniere in Basanier, Histoire Notable, p. 116; Le Moyne de Morgues, Brevis Narratio, pp. 12, 13.

1564. them his flag, and another pilot, Trenchant, to accompany them.[1]

They separate. One party lost.

They fitted out the two new vessels, and set sail on the 8th of December. Their design was to steer straight to St. Domingo and pillage Yaguana,[2] then a considerable town, ruins of which are still to be seen, two leagues from Leogane. They expected to lay their plans so well, that they would reach there on Christmas eve, and attack it while all were at church. But while they were still in May River,

1565. a division arose, as almost always happens among those who have thrown off the yoke of lawful authority. After long disputes, the two vessels parted company. One followed the coast to cross over to Cuba; the other stood off to range the Bahamas, and apparently this latter vessel perished at sea—at least, no tidings of it were ever heard.[3]

The others make some captures.

The other, on which the pilot Trenchant was, under the command of one d'Oranger, after some days fell in with a Spanish brigantine, loaded with wine and cassave, which they took, and on which d'Oranger put all who were in his way on his own vessel, with a part of the provisions. Our adventurers then gained the western coast of St. Domingo, refreshed themselves at a harbor near Yaguana, recaulked their prize, which leaked, and proceeded to Baracoa, in the island of Cuba.[4] In this port they found a caravel of fifty or sixty tons, with no one aboard: they seized it, and left their own vessel in its stead. Thence they ran down again to St. Domingo, and near Cape Tiburon captured a richly-loaded patach, carrying the governor of Jamaica and his two sons, who became their prisoners.[5]

They expected to obtain a good ransom; but as they

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[1] Laudonniere, pp. 119, 120; Le Moyne, p. 13.

[2] Barcia calls the place Xaguana.

[3] Laudonniere in Basanier, pp. 120, 121. He says the vessels met six weeks after (p. 121)

[4] Jamaica.

[5] Laudonniere, ib., pp. 121–3; Le Moyne, Brevis Narratio, pp. 19, 20; Barcia (Ensayo Cronologico, p. 73, 1) says that the person captured was governor of Havana.

approached Jamaica, the governor employed a successful stratagem to escape from their hands. He proposed to send a letter to his wife by one of his sons, to inform her of his captivity and bring back the sum he had agreed upon with them for his ransom. They fell into the transparent snare; and the governor, after showing d'Oranger a letter containing only what has been mentioned, gave the bearer secret orders, which were promptly executed. Some time after, at early daybreak, our pirates were much astonished to see themselves invested by three well-armed vessels, carrying a large force. The odds were too great to risk a combat. The caravel, in which d'Oranger was with the Spanish governor, was forced to surrender. The brigantine, which carried twenty-five men, had time to cut her cable and gain the sea. It was pursued, but too late, and could not be overtaken. They doubled Cape San Antonio, the western point of Cuba, and then ranged all the northern coast of that island.[1]

1565.

What befell them at Jamaica.

Trenchant, the pilot, who commanded her, having concerted matters with some sailors, who had, like him, been embarked by force, availed himself of the night-time to cross the Bahama Channel, which he had entered unperceived by the others. They were much astonished when they discovered the coast of Florida, but it was too late to gainsay it. They were out of provisions, and did not know where to look for any: they had therefore, perforce, to let themselves be carried along. They were but a few leagues from the May River, when Mr. de Laudonniere was informed by the Indians that a vessel, with French on board, was in sight.

Some return to Caroline.

The brigantine soon after moored in the mouth of the river, and the news being carried to Caroline, the governor sent orders to Trenchant to approach the fort. The conspirators would have made opposition, but a detachment of thirty soldiers having come to seize the four most mu-

[1] Laudonniere, p. 123; Le Moyne, pp. 19, 20.

1565. tinous, the rest allowed themselves to be taken, and were put in irons. The trial of the first was already proceeding, and the court martial had condemned them to be hung. As soon as the brigantine anchored before the fort, all on board were landed, and de Laudonniere appeared at the head of his troops, to execute the sentence passed on the four leaders in the revolt.

Punishment of the most guilty.

These wretches, seeing no longer any hope of avoiding the punishment which they had so richly deserved, began to pray. One, however, turning to the soldiers, stretched out his arms, and cried: "What, comrades, will you suffer us to perish thus?" The commandant replied that the king's soldiers did not recognize rebels as comrades. There was, withal, a slight movement among the troops, and several asked for a commutation of the culprits' punishment. Laudonniere did not yield, till the entreaties were multiplied; at last, he consented that they should be shot, on condition, however, that their bodies after death should be gibbeted. The execution took place at once. The Genevan Etienne, la Croix, and des Fourneaux, with one whose name I do not find, comprised the four.[1]

New discoveries.

While French Florida was thus depopulated, it was becoming more and more explored. La Rocheferriere had penetrated to nations near the Apalache mountains, had contracted alliance with several paraoustis, and without much regard for Outina, whom his negotiations displeased, had returned to Caroline with very fine presents for de Laudonniere, from his new allies. That commandant conceived great hopes from these discoveries, more especially as some of the presents which he had just received were quite precious. These were small plates of gold and silver, pretended pieces of ore, well-wrought quivers, fine skins, arrows tipped with gold, carpets quite delicately woven of bird's feathers, blue and green figured stones,

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[1] Laudonnière in Basanier, Histoire Notable, pp. 125–27; Le Moyne de Morgues, Brevis Narratio, pp. 19, 20; Hawk. in Hak., iii, pp. 517, 518.

axes made of these stones, and other rarities of the same kind.[1] Peter Gambie, a soldier, had also, with the commandant's permission, gone to explore the country on the other side; but as he was returning, pretty well loaded with articles obtained in exchange for European curiosities, he was assassinated in his periagua by two Indians, who had offered to guide him.[2] 1565.

Adventure of two Spaniards.

About the same time they learned that, at quite a distance from Caroline to the south, there were two Europeans in the hands of a paraousti, named Onathaca, and Laudonniere sent offerings to ransom them. The paraousti made no objection to giving them up on this condition, and they were brought to the fort. They were two Spaniards, who were presented to the commandant, perfectly naked, with hair hanging down to their knees. They first dressed them, then cut their hair, which was very filthy and disordered. One of the two had concealed in his a piece of gold, worth about twenty-five crowns, and neither he nor his companion would allow the hair that was cut off to be thrown away; they kept it carefully to send to their families, as a monument of the long captivity that they had undergone.[3]

Accounts of the Florida cape.

These two men related, that besides Onathaca,[4] who resided on the eastern coast of the Floridian peninsula, there was on the west coast another cacique, named Calos,[5] no less powerful than the former, and surpassing him greatly in riches. It was the source of the mines from which all the gold, silver, and stones found in Florida had come, most of the vessels wrecked on the passage from America having gone ashore near his territory. The two Spaniards declared that this Indian had dug a

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[1] Laudonniere, p. 113.

[2] Le Moyne, Brevis Narratio, p. 14; Laudonniere, p. 140.

[3] Le Moyne, Brevis Narratio, p. 16; Laudonniere, pp. 130–1.

[4] This is Onathaqua, in Basanier (p. 130), Oathkaqua, in Le Moyne (p. 17); Hawkins in Hakluyt, iii., p. 519.

[5] These Calos or Carlos are very cruel cannibals. They live on a bay which bears their name, and that also of Ponce de Leon. *Charlevoix.*

1565. ditch six feet deep by three wide, and filled it with all kinds of riches; that there were actually in his town four or five women of rank, with their children, who had been wrecked with themselves about fifteen years before; that this savage had found means to persuade his subjects, that all his riches was the fruit of the power which he had to make the earth produce them; and that he annually, at harvest-time, sacrificed a man,—generally one of those whom some tempest had delivered into his hands.

They then warned the French not to trust the Floridians; that these Indians were never more to be feared than when they were most lavish of friendly professions. They added that they would undertake to carry off all the treasures of Calos with a hundred well-armed men. One of the two said, moreover, that having been often sent by Onathaca, his master, to that cacique, he had discovered on the route, about half-way, a great lake of fresh water, called Serropé, with an island in the middle, the inhabitants of which carried on a great trade in the dates of their palm-trees, and a greater one in a certain root, of which they made bread, but of which he did not know the name.[1]

Laudonniere makes peace among the Indians.

Soon after the arrival of the Spaniards, Saturiova again urged de Laudonniere to join him against Outina and Timagoa, or at least to recall the French, who had remained with the former; respect for whom, he said, had long alone prevented his turning his arms in that direction. Many other paraoustis supported his request; but the commandant deemed it more politic, in his actual position, to labor to reconcile these nations with each other, than to side with one against another; and he at last succeeded in making them conclude a treaty,[2] of which he prepared at once to profit to secure himself against any who should attempt any thing contrary to the interests of his colony.

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[1] Laudonniere, pp. 131–3. Brinton (Floridian Peninsula, p. 117) thinks it may be Lake Ware. He thinks the dates the prunus chickasaw, and the root, the coonta or yam.

[2] Laud., p. 134; Le Moyne, p. 17

His first care then, and it should have been his first on arriving in Florida, was to fill his storehouse, convinced by bitter experience that the surest means to prevent mutinies among new colonists is to keep them ever in plenty, and to employ them in profitable exercise. At the same time he added new works to his fort, making it impregnable to any attack from the Indians, the only enemies against whom he supposed it necessary to take precautions. After this he again sent the Sieur d'Ottigny, his lieutenant, to explore the country. 1565. His precautions and fortifying.

This officer penetrated to the banks of a great lake, of which he could not see the further end, even from the tops of the highest trees, and which Lescarbot imagined to have communicated with the Pacific,—a pardonable error at the time, when only the coasts of North America were known.[1] The lake which d'Ottigny discovered is apparently the same which Hernan de Soto perceived as he approached the mountains of Apalache, and which is not even now well known, any more than another smaller one, found, it is said, amid these very mountains, pretty far to the northeast of the former, and where they pretend the sand is mingled with some grains of silver, if, indeed, both are not fabulous. D'Ottigny, returning to Caroline, made several diversions through a most beautiful country; then repaired to Outina, to whom his arrival gave great pleasure, and with whom he could not avoid leaving some of his party. New discoveries.

Two months after, Groutaut, one of these Frenchmen, arrived at the fort, and made de Laudonniere a very specious proposition from a paraousti, one of Outina's neighbors. This was to make the French masters of the mountains of Apalache, if they would help him to drive out one of his enemies, who was in possession. The com- War breaks out among the Indians again.

[1] Lescarbot, Histoire de la Nouvelle France (ed. 1618), p. 90. Le Moyne de Morgues (p. 19) and Laudonniere (p. 137) say that he merely went in sight of the lake, and that the Indians reported that they could not see across it. It is probably Lake George.

1565. mandant would gladly have profited by this offer, for he had always in his imagination that these mountains contained mines; but as he had scarcely any more men than were needed to guard his post, he deemed it his duty, before responding to this paraousti, to await the re-enforcement he had been led to expect from France. He had no thoughts of interfering in Indian affairs, when envoys from Outina came to ask, in their master's name, twelve or fifteen of his people to lead them against Potanou,[1] with whom he was again at variance.

Laudonniere sends aid to Outina.

On this request he would decide nothing till he had consulted his chief officers, most of whom judged it expedient to gratify Outina. Those who spoke thus relied on the example of the Spaniards, who had effected such great conquests in the New World, only, they declared, by weakening the natives of the country by each other. They even added, that instead of twelve men, as solicited by Outina, thirty should be sent, so that they might be in a position to support themselves among the Indians; adding, that you could never count on the friendship and good-will of these Indians, even when you do them a service, unless you are strong enough to fear naught.

Laudonniere relished this counsel, and d'Ottigny was ordered with thirty men to join Outina, who no sooner received this re-enforcement than he took the field with three hundred of his subjects. After this little army had marched two days, Outina was informed that he was discovered, which disturbed him greatly. He consulted his jonas to know whether he should go any further, or retrace his steps. The medicine-man, after many grimaces and contortions, told him that Potanou awaited his coming with two thousand men, and cords to bind him and his people. On this he did not hesitate to order a retreat.

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[1] Laudonniere, pp. 138, 139; Le Moyne, p. 15. We have seen that Potanou was killed in battle; but it must be remembered that, in Florida, the chief's name is always that of his tribe.—*Charlevoix.*

D'Ottigny was in despair at losing so favorable an opportunity of showing the Floridians the difference between them and the French. After in vain exhausting all his eloquence to make these savages take heart again, he told them that since they abandoned him thus, on an occasion where it rested solely with them to acquire great glory, he would go alone with his band to attack Potanou, asking only a guide to lead him against the enemy. These words had all the effect that d'Ottigny had anticipated. Outina was ashamed of his cowardice: they marched on the enemy, whom they met precisely at the spot, and with the forces announced by the medicine-man. Yet they did not hesitate to charge first, and the French musketry did such terrible execution on the foremost ranks of Potanou, that his whole army disbanded in an instant. Outina, notwithstanding this unexpected success, durst not pursue the fugitives; and d'Ottigny seeing that there was neither honor nor profit to be expected with such warriors, left twelve men with his allies, and returned in all haste to Caroline.[1] 1565.

Extremity to which famine brings the French.

He found Mr. de Laudonniere in a great strait: that commander had counted on receiving supplies from France, at the latest in April, and he had no provisions beyond what would enable them to reach that time. To crown his difficulties, the Indians began to prize European curiosities less, and sold very high every thing that the French were obliged to purchase of them. Meanwhile, the month of May was slipping by, without his receiving any tidings from France: the famine in Caroline was excessive; acorns had become the ordinary food,[2] and even these soon failed, and they were driven to dig up roots from the earth, which barely enabled them to prolong a languishing existence. All the elements seemed to conspire against these unfortunate colonists, fish disappeared from the river, and game from the woods and marshes.

The Indians, from whom they could not conceal their ex-

[1] Laudonniere, pp. 140–4.

[2] Hawkins in Hakluyt, iii.

1565. tremity, and who had scarcely more than was necessary for themselves, set an exorbitant price on the little of which they chose to deprive themselves; and when they had no more to sell, disappeared. The French sought them in the woods, put themselves at the discretion of the Indians, and more than once experienced rebuff and insult. One paraousti even went so far as to murder and rob a Frenchman, who had, he learned, some gold in his possession. Laudonniere, judging that such a crime should not be allowed to go unpunished, sent to burn the village where the barbarian lived: the latter had anticipated the step—the French found only empty cabins, easily replaced.

Violent counsel given to Laudonniere.

In the despair in which so many misfortunes plunged them all, it was proposed by some one to go and seize Outina, to force him to give them provisions. The commander opposed, as far as he could, a step the results of which he foresaw; but men driven by hunger listen to nothing. Laudonniere accordingly seeing that further resistance would only endanger his own authority; seeing, too, that his best soldiers had fallen into a languor which incapacitated them from the least service; that diseases, caused by improper food, were daily increasing, and that many were already dead, beheld himself forced to undertake the execution of a project which he detested, and from which he augured only evil.[1]

The consequences.

His presentiments were not unfounded: Outina was carried off, but nothing was gained thereby. His whole tribe flew to arms, and the French saw themselves on the brink of a war, which they were in no state to sustain. They had to negotiate, and restore Outina to liberty for a trifle. They soon felt the evil consequences of a step, to the injustice and danger of which, despair had closed the eyes of a famished crowd. The Indians attacked Laudonniere on his retreat, killed two of his men, and wounded more than twenty, recapturing also the small quantity of provi-

[1] Le Moyne, Brevis Narratio, p. 21; Laudonniere, p. 153.

sions given for Outina's ransom. The action lasted almost the whole day, July 27th, the Indians displaying a skill and resolution of which they had been deemed incapable. As soon as they saw our musketeers ready to fire, they fell flat on the earth with incredible celerity, and in fact lost very few. In this battle d'Ottigny and d'Erlach performed actions worthy of a more just and noble expedition; and but for them, Laudonniere, who likewise displayed much intrepidity, would have had great difficulty in extricating himself from this false step.[1] 1565. July 27.

A pretty good supply of millet,[2] which one of the two le Vasseurs brought in from the Somme River soon after his return to Caroline, comforted him a little in his misfortune; but as he durst not flatter himself that he would often receive such succor, he resolved to profit by this to return to France. He was already beginning to make all arrangements for this voyage, when on the 3d of August four sail appeared in sight of Caroline. The spectacle excited lively joy, no one doubting but that the vessels came from France. But the French were not long in the pleasing error; these were English vessels, seeking water, which they needed extremely. They were commanded by John Hawkins, a very upright officer; who, far from taking any unfair advantage of the wretched condition in which he found the French, did, on the contrary, all in his power to aid them, especially when he found them to be Protestants.[3] The English in Florida. August 3.

He began by sending to ask the commandant of Caroline permission to take in water; and obtaining this without difficulty, he came alone and unarmed to visit him. Laudonniere received him as his courtesy required; he regaled his guest with some poultry, which he had re- What occurred between them and the French.

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[1] Laudonniere, p. 164. Hawkins says they had not forty men unhurt, the Indians aiming at the exposed parts of the French, seeing the armor proof to their shafts. Hakluyt, iii.

[2] Maize. See Histoire Merveilleuse in Ternaux's Recueil, p. 262.

[3] Le Moyne, p. 21; Laudonniere, p. 170, 176; Hawkins in Hakluyt, iii., p. 518.

1565. served for the most pressing need; and Hawkins, on his side, supplied the bread and wine, which not one of the French, including even the commandant, had touched for six or seven months. The perfect understanding between men who seemed to the Indians to be fellow-countrymen, rendered these savages more humane; and either from fear or interest, they became more friendly, bringing in provisions from all sides.

Laudonniere had already purchased supplies from the English, as well as munitions and clothes;[1] Hawkins not only rating the various articles low, but adding many presents.[2] He had, moreover, offered to carry him and his whole party to France. A slight distrust, perhaps, or some other unknown reason, prevented his accepting this offer; but as he was satisfied that neither the court nor Admiral Coligni took any further interest in Florida, he steadily continued his endeavors to make the Spanish brigantine already mentioned seaworthy, resolved to embark as soon as possible.

Hawkins, from whom he did not conceal his project, visited this vessel, and found it very poor: he renewed his offer, and as Laudonniere persisted in his refusal, pressed him to purchase one of his vessels. The commandant consented to this the less reluctantly,[3] inasmuch as the garrison declared positively that they would no longer delay their departure from a land where they were ever in danger of perishing of hunger. Strange, that among all the means of subsistence which the extreme want of provisions had suggested, it seems to have occurred to no one, to prevent a relapse into that wretched state by cultivating the ground![4] So difficult is idleness to overcome when it becomes habitual. They had, moreover, lost

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[1] Hakluyt, iii., 518. He furnished them twenty barrels of meal and four pipes of beans. Laudonniere, p. 176, adds fifty pair of shoes, salt, and wax.

[2] Laudonniere mentions these with warm expressions of gratitude.

[3] He paid for it in cannon and powder.

[4] Hawkins justly censures them.

all hope of discovering mines in Florida, and they were disgusted with a country where they could not expect to live at their ease, except by making it available through painful toil. 1565.

Meanwhile, the English set sail, a few days after Hawkins' delivery of one of his vessels to de Laudonniere, and the French thought only of the preparations for their voyage. All was ready by the 15th of August, and they were merely waiting a favorable wind to weigh; but, unfortunately, this desired wind came only on the 28th.[1] They profited by it, in all haste, and were actually weighing anchor, when several sail were discovered. Laudonniere immediately sent a bark to reconnoitre; but the boat having reached the flag-ship of the strangers, did not return, which set all thinking. Laudonniere, without delay, re-entered his fort, and set all to work with extreme diligence, to put himself in a position to hold out, at least for a time. Ribaut's arrival in Florida.

This was no easy matter, as they had, before evacuating the place, almost completely ruined its defences, for fear that the Spaniards or English should plant themselves there, or even the Indians occupy it, so as to prevent the return of the French.[2] The next morning seven vessels were seen at the mouth of the river, full of armed men, with helmets on their heads, and arquebuses ready. They sailed up, till they came opposite Caroline, in order of battle, without making any reply to the hail of the sentries. Some muskets were fired at them, but they were out of range. The artillery was about to be opened upon them, when some one rising, cried out: "It is Mr. de Ribaut."[3] August 29.

Great surprise and joy, not unmingled with fear, reigned in the fort. Laudonniere supposed himself beyond re- Object of his voyage.

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[1] Laudonniere, p. 178.

[2] Le Moyne, Brevis Narratio, p. 22. Laudonniere (p. 178), says the Indians asked him to prevent his soldiers' demolishing the house and fort, and that he made show of doing so.

[3] Laudonniere, p. 181; Histoire Merveilleuse, p. 258.

1565. proach; but it is only at God's tribunal that the testimony of conscience gives perfect assurance; and this conduct in a man with whom he had always maintained a good understanding, left him no room to doubt that he had been misrepresented to the admiral, or the king himself. He soon learned from Mr. de Ribaut's lips, that his fear was not unfounded; for on asking him privately for a frank explanation, that commander detailed to him at length all that had been said and written to the court against him.

Heads of accusation against Laudonniere.

The principal charges were, that he so acted the monarch, and governed so tyrannically, that there was no longer any one in Florida willing to serve under him; that he regarded the country as his conquest and domain; that no time was to be lost, if they wished to hold it for the king; that it would require even then a considerable force; and that the least thing to be feared, in case his majesty deferred these steps, was, that the French in Florida would right themselves, as they did at Charles Fort, under Captain Albert, and then seek impunity for their crime in revolt, by giving themselves to some other power. In fine, his very loyalty was assailed.[1]

These were, in fact, the reasons which induced the king to fit out seven ships under the Sieur de Ribaut. The reputation raised for Florida in France, the report of the large expedition, and confidence in the commander, had caused a real eagerness to join it, more especially as peace left a great many gentlemen and officers unemployed, who were delighted to find this opportunity of reaping the fruit of their past services. It will be seen, too, in the sequel, that Admiral Coligny was not so attentive this time to exclude Catholics as in his other expeditions, at least among the soldiers and sailors.

Perils of the fleet before reaching Florida.

The expedition was not, at the outset, fortunate: while at anchor at the roadstead of Dieppe,[2] the fleet experienced such a gale, that it was forced to run before the wind, and

[1] Laudonniere, pp. 181–7.

[2] May 22.

MENENDEZ.

would have perished had it not made the port of Havre de Grace, and there shielded itself from the storm.[1] It sailed thence the 14th of June; but a second storm forced it to put in at Portsmouth.[2] It then lost over two months in reaching Florida; and Mr. de Ribaut amused himself, for another two months and more, in different places along the coast before entering May River. Perhaps he wished to make sure of the Indians of those parts, in case he met with any resistance from the commandant of Caroline. Be that as it may, Ribaut had no sooner informed Laudonniere of the suspicions of the court, than he was convinced by the latter's replies, and the testimony of the principal officers, that the king and the admiral had been imposed upon. He accordingly omitted no inducement to persuade Laudonniere to remain with him in Florida, even offering him command of Caroline, he himself settling elsewhere; but he found Laudonniere firmly resolved to return to France to defend his conduct, and he pressed the matter no further. He gave him a letter from Coligni, in which that nobleman, without alluding to the accusations against him, invited him to come and lay before the king and council the means best adapted, in his judgment, to place the new colony on a solid basis.[3]

1565.

Laudonniere wishes to return to France.

Meanwhile, at the first report among the Indians of the arrival of the French fleet, they came in great numbers to Caroline. Some of them recognized Ribaut by his beard, which he always wore very long. They testified their joy at his return, and made him many presents; among the rest, a large piece of ore, which proved to be fine gold. They added that, if he desired, they would take him to some mountains where this metal abounded. Ribaut was resolved, once for all, to test the truth on this important point; but he soon had something to attend to very differ-

Ribaut's reception by the Indians, and their offers.

[1] Histoire Merveilleuse in Ternaux's Recueil, p. 255; De Gallorum Expeditione in Novæ Novi Orbis Historiæ (Geneva, 1578), p. 437.

[2] They sailed, June 14, from the Isle of Wight, and did not put back. See authorities in last note.

[3] Laudonniere, pp. 183–4.

1565. ent from a visit to the mountains of Apalache. He had sounded the river, and found that there was not water enough for his four large vessels to enter; he was obliged, therefore, to leave them at the roadstead, and land in boats the provisions needed in Caroline. After this, he proceeded to repair the fort; and, as he set almost all his force to work, the operations advanced considerably in a few days.[1]

A Spanish squadron in sight of the French fleet. Sept. 4.

They were not yet completed when, on the 4th of September, about four o'clock in the afternoon, six Spanish ships anchored in the roadstead quite near the four French ships that had remained there.[2] This squadron was commanded by Don Pedro Menendez de Avilez, knight of Santiago, commander of Santa Cruz de la Zarza; but to understand what followed we must trace matters back.

Who he was.

This officer, whom the historians of his nation portray to us as one of the greatest men whom Spain has had in the New World, while at the court of Spain, involved in difficulties raised by his enemies, was greatly astonished to receive from the very lips of his royal master, Philip II., an order to sail to Florida, survey all the coasts accurately, and draw up an exact map, to be placed in the hands of all pilots thereafter proceeding to America, inasmuch as the frequent shipwrecks in the Bahama Channel and the neighboring coasts were caused solely by the scanty information which they had cared to acquire of the land.[3]

Occasion of his voyage.

So unexpected an order gave heart to Menendez, who believed himself in disgrace. But the commission which the king gave him seemed to him too restricted; and to enlarge it, he represented to his majesty that he knew nothing more important for his service than the conquest

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[1] Laudonniere, p. 187; Histoire Merveilleuse, p. 265; De Gallorum Expeditione, p. 445.

[2] The Histoire Merveilleuse says, 3d September; De Gallorum Expeditione, the 13th; Laudonniere (p. 189), the 4th. Barcia does not state the day precisely.

[3] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, para la Historia General de la Florida, pp. 57–65.

and settlement of Florida; that to his knowledge, those immense regions enjoyed a very healthy climate and a most fertile soil; but even if there were no solid advantage to be derived by the State from the possession of this beautiful country, it was inhabited by tribes sunk in the deepest shades of heathendom; that his majesty was bound in conscience, as lawful sovereign of all Florida, to afford them a knowledge of the true God, since it was on this condition that the Sovereign Pontiffs had given his ancestors the domain of the New World. "For myself, sire," he added, "the blindness of so many thousands of idolaters has touched me so sensibly, that of all employments with which your majesty could honor me, there is not one to which I would not prefer that of conquering Florida, and peopling it with true Christians."[1] 1565.

Conditions on which he treats with the king.

The king praised his zeal and accepted his offers. It was arranged that he was to convey to Florida five hundred men, with provisions for a year, at his own expense, without his majesty or his successors being held to make him any return; that he was to conquer Florida, and make an exact chart of all the coasts, within three years; that besides the five hundred men intended to settle Florida, which number was to comprise one hundred husbandmen and four Jesuit priests, he should carry over horses and mares, and all kinds of domestic animals, large and small; that he should establish a royal audience[2] there, of which he was to be alguazil mayor; that he should found two or three towns, each of a hundred settlers, to be defended by good forts; that he should be at liberty to go at pleasure to Hispaniola, Porto Rico, Cuba, and even come to Spain, without paying duties, either on provisions, supplies, or merchandise, except gold, silver, and precious stones; that during six years he might fit out two galleons of five or six hundred tons, and two pataches of one hundred and fifty or two hundred; that all the prizes he

[1] Barcia, Ensayo Cronolog., p. 65.

[2] Ib., p. 66.

1565. might make with the vessels should belong to him; that he should enjoy the perpetual hereditary title of Adelantado of Florida, with the same pre-eminence and prerogatives enjoyed by those of Castile, and two thousand ducats income, chargeable on the revenue of the province; and that such son or son-in-law as he should appoint his successor, should enjoy the same privileges; that he should have one-fifteenth of all that accrued to his majesty—revenues, mines, gold, silver, pearls, and fruits of the earth—in all his conquests.[1] Finally, on the 22d of March, in that year, the king delivered to him a commission as captain-general of the fleet intended for Florida.

While this was in hand, news for the first time reached Spain that the French Huguenots had for three years been settled in Florida, had built forts there, and were on the point of sending them a heavy re-enforcement of men, provisions, and munitions. The adelantado had gone on a tour through Biscay and Asturias, his native place, to induce his relatives and friends to advance him the money and securities necessary for the expenses of his undertaking. He was summoned to court, and repaired there with all diligence, leaving his affairs in the hands of Stephen de las Alas, and appointing Peter Menendez Marquez, his nephew, admiral of the fleet, with orders to sail forthwith to the Canaries and await him there.[2]

The re-enforcements preparing in France for Florida known in Madrid. Course adopted.

On arriving at court, he heard the intelligence just received from France; and the king told him that, as he would require additional force to expel the heretics from Florida, it was unjust that this increased expense should fall on him; that he would accordingly issue orders, so that he should find ready in the Indies two hundred horses, four hundred foot-soldiers, and three ships of his fleet, of which the pay for four months, with provisions, munitions, artillery, and all things needed, should be fur-

[1] See Patent as Adelantado, dated March 22, in Smith, Coleccion de Documentos, i., 13.

[2] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p 67.

nished by the royal treasury. Menendez having then represented to the king that these new directions would greatly delay his arrival in Florida, and that while he was engaged in making his preparations at Hispaniola and elsewhere, the French heretics would have all time to fortify their post, form alliances with the Floridians, and bring them under rule; that it seemed to him more advantageous for his majesty's service, that they should give him two galleys and two of the galliots which were under the command of Don Alvaro Bazan; that with this reenforcement he would sail with the first fair wind, and anticipate any re-enforcements from France; that he would enter the nearest port to that occupied by the French, fortify himself there, win the neighboring caciques, so that when his cavalry arrived in the spring he would be in a position to take the field, and attack the enemy to advantage or force him to leave the country.[1] 1565.

Menendez sails. His force.

His project was approved; but, as the Turks were then threatening Malta, the Spanish monarch did not deem it advisable to weaken his naval power, and he gave orders to supply otherwise what the captain-general required. His orders, although positive, were not, however, fully executed. Menendez experienced at the hands of the officers of the Council of the Indies much vexatious opposition, and was not able to sail till the 29th of June. His fleet was composed of the galleon San Pelayo, of nine hundred and ninety-six tons, and of ten ships, the force of which amounted to nine hundred and ninety-five men, including soldiers and sailors, four secular priests, one hundred and seventeen officers and mechanics, and a large supply of artillery, a part of which was intended for the forts to be erected in Florida. All this was at the expense of the adelantado, except two hundred and ninety-nine soldiers, ninety-five sailors, and the chief pilot. The king furnished the San Pelayo.[2]

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[1] Barcia, Ensayo Cronolog., p. 67.

[2] Ib., p. 68.

1565. This fleet left the port of Cadiz on the 29th of June, but a violent storm soon drove it back, to the chagrin of the captain-general, who based his hopes of success in his expedition on his celerity; but he was somewhat consoled by a re-enforcement of men, which this delay brought in; so that, on reaching the Canaries, his force consisted of one thousand five hundred and four persons, among whom were several gentlemen of the best families of Biscay, Galicia, and Asturias. Two days after his departure from Cadiz, Captain Luna arrived there with ninety men, and embarked on a caravel, which was furnished to him all equipped. On the other hand, Stephen de las Alas, Menendez' lieutenant, embarked in the ports of Aviles and Gijon two hundred and fifty-seven sailors and soldiers in three vessels, under the command of Admiral Peter Menendez Marquez, who was also appointed the king's treasurer-general in Florida.

In fine, as they had given this expedition all the air of a holy war undertaken against the heretics, in concert with the king of France, who was said to disavow the settlement of his subjects of the pretendedly reformed religion in Florida, so many offered to take part in this species of crusade that all the forces of the captain-general united amounted to two thousand six hundred men, among whom were twelve Franciscans, eleven priests, and one lay brother, a religious of La Merced, five ecclesiastics, and eight Jesuits. So that, with what Menendez had received from the king, he found that he had expended in less than fourteen months a million of ducats of his own.

His fleet dispersed.

He did not stop at the Canaries, but he had scarcely set sail when a storm scattered his fleet. The flag-ship and a patache disappeared, a large sloop was forced to put back because it leaked at every seam, the ships under Stephen de las Alas had taken another course, and there remained with the captain-general only five, which a second storm, that occurred on the 20th of July, forced to throw a part of their cargo into the sea. On the 9th of August, Menen-

dez landed in Porto Rico, after taking in fresh supplies at Hispaniola on his way. He here enrolled forty-three men, and learned that Mr. de Ribaut had outstripped him; but that it was perceived that that commander had amused himself for over two months in different places on the Florida coast.[1] 1565.

He deliberates on his course.

Menendez then found himself reduced to a third part of his force, and most of his soldiers were without any experience; but, as all his officers were men of resolution, he called a council of war, to which he represented that he was led into this expedition neither by interest nor ambition, but purely by zeal for God's glory; that the Almighty, by permitting only five vessels of the fleet with which he had left Teneriffe to keep him company, seemed to desire that the success of so glorious an expedition should be attributed only to the invincible power of his arm. His opinion, therefore, was, that they should sail without further delay to Florida, where he hoped to surprise the heretics before the expected re-enforcements reached them, and thus gain a complete victory over them.

He, nevertheless, requested the opinion of the council on his resolution. The maestro del campo, Peter de Valdez, his son-in-law, spoke first, and concurred with him. Most of the others coincided; but some, headed by Captain John de San Vicente, who meditated passing to Peru or Mexico, set forth that to attempt to carry out the enterprise rashly with his small force,[2] was to expose himself to an evident risk of failure. At last, however, as they saw the majority persist in the contrary opinion, they made a show of yielding.

He discovers Florida.

The adelantado, full of joy, set sail again, and on the 28th of August came in sight of Florida.[3] His difficulty was to know whether he was north or south of the French;

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[1] Barcia, p. 69; Mendoza, pp. 165–181.

[2] Five hundred soldiers, two hundred sailors, one hundred colonists. Letter to the King, Parkman, p. 96.

[3] Mendoza in Ternaux's Recueil, p. 193; Barcia, p. 70.

1565. and in this uncertainty, they did nothing for four days but tack on and off shore. On the fifth day the adelantado perceived some Indians on the shore, and sent his maestro del campo, with twenty arquebusiers, to converse with them. As soon as these savages saw the boats approach, they prepared to oppose their landing; then gradually fell back, keeping their bows bent. Valdez durst not pursue them, for fear of ambuscade; but as he was unwilling to return without some tidings of the French, he called one of his men, who had deserved death, and been reserved for use on such occasions, and ordered him to lay down his arms, take some goods, and follow the Indians,—promising him pardon if he got from these Indians any light on the point they wished.

He gets tidings of the French.

The soldier discharged his task perfectly, and learned that the French were twenty leagues off to the northward. He even induced some Indians to follow him to the spot where the maestro del campo had halted, and they were well received. They asked him where the general was, and Valdez replied that he had remained on board, inviting them to go off and meet him; but they declined, adding, that if he would land and rest among them, he would have no grounds to repent of it. On this reply, Valdez showed his friendship towards them, and re-embarked. The captain-general, on his report, did not hesitate to land; and taking fifty arquebusiers, started with them in boats. The Indians no sooner saw him approach the shore, than they threw down their arms and advanced, singing and raising their hands to heaven. Menendez caressed them much, and distributed among them small presents, which they received with gratitude, and gave them a meal; but he could elicit nothing more than what they had informed the maestro del campo.

He accordingly returned to his ship, set sail, and after making about eight leagues, on the 28th of August, found himself at the mouth of Dolphin River. It seemed to him very beautiful, and he named it St. Augustine, the festival

of that holy doctor being celebrated on the day.[1] He did not stop, however, but kept on his way; and the next day perceived four ships at anchor, from which he concluded that the French had received the expected re-enforcements. He at once convened his council, which advised him to return to Hispaniola, and wait till his whole fleet had got together. This resolution chagrined him all the more, from the fact that he had been discovered, that there was no wind, that his ships were in a very bad state, and that he had every thing to fear, if pursued.[2] 1565.

He resolves to attack the French vessels.

He accordingly represented that it seemed to him more advisable to surprise the four French vessels anchored at the roadstead, where they had remained apparently because they could not enter the river on which the fort stood; that doubtless they were but poorly manned, as their commander, believing them in perfect security, could have left only a part of the crew on board; that after taking them, there was nothing to prevent his entering the St. Augustine and fortifying his position, while some of his vessels went to Hispaniola to explain his situation to such of his fleet as had reached there, and to take in necessary provisions and munitions; that when all his forces had united at St. Augustine River, he could attack the French by sea and land,—in which case, after the loss of their largest ships, they would be able neither to resist so powerful an attack nor even return to France.

What passed in council.

These reasons were deemed convincing, and they considered the project of the captain-general worthy of his

[1] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, pp. 70, 71. Mendoza gives it differently, and apparently more accurately. Menendez made the coast, August 28, St. Augustine's day, off the mouth of the St. John; but not landing, did not detect the presence of the French. He coasted along; and though he took two Frenchmen prisoners, was unable to find the French fort. On the 30th, he landed fifty men, who penetrated to a town four leagues inland; and they being well received, Menendez himself landed on the 1st September, and after making the Indians presents, learned of them, through the French as interpreters, that the French post was only five leagues off. Mendoza, p. 196.

[2] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 74.

1565. courage and prudence. All sail was instantly spread; and the squadron was only three leagues from the French ships, when a perfect calm, followed by rain and thunder, prevented the advance of the Spaniards. About nine o'clock in the evening the sky cleared, and a favorable wind sprang up; but the adelantado reflected, that with all his exertion, it would be night before he could reach the French, who, in case they were too weak to fight, would perhaps grapple, so as to burn the Spanish ships, even at the loss of their own, and escape to the shore in their boats. He had, moreover, remarked, that every morning till noon the tide was low on the coast and at the mouth of the rivers, which all have bars; and on this observation he resolved to move as near the enemy as possible, then to ride at anchor, in order to be in their midst at daybreak, when they would not be able to manœuvre or receive aid from the vessels already at anchor off Caroline.

This plan adopted, and orders given in consequence, the adelantado advanced under easy sail, till about half-past eleven: he then cast anchor, and run out his cable, so that he was soon athwart the French flag-ship.[1] Our historians say that he asked after Mr. de Ribaut and his chief officers, naming them all; that he then declared that his arrival in that harbor should not disquiet the French,[2] and that he had, indeed, no design to stop; that in fact he got under way at daybreak, but instead of standing off, he bore straight down on the French ships, which had barely time to cut their cables and sail off with all speed.[3]

A Spanish author, Don André Gonzalez de Barcia, the

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[1] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, para la Historia de la Florida, p. 75. Mendoza says two hours after sunset (p. 198), Challeux, nine o'clock.

[2] Laudonniere so states in p. 189; but the statement is not sustained by the Histoire Merveilleuse (p. 266) or De Gallorum Expeditione (p. 445), which say that the Spaniards declared that they were enemies, and that war was sufficiently declared.

[3] Laudonniere says the Spaniards fired on them at daybreak, and that the French then sailed off; but the other two accounts are silent as to the firing.

only one to my knowledge who has given any details on this expedition, avers, on the contrary, that the French, seeing the Spanish ships approach in the darkness of night, kept up a constant but ineffectual fire on them; that Menendez did not fire a single gun, and kept all his men flat on the decks; that at daybreak,[1] "his ship having got between the two largest of the French, he sounded his trumpet as if to salute the French flag-ship, which returned his hail. He then appeared and asked whence the ships came, and what they were doing in Florida. The reply was, that they were French, come to bring men and supplies for a fort which the Most Christian king had on May River, and for some others that they intended to build in the country; that Menendez then asked whether they were Catholics or Lutherans,[2] to which they replied that they were Lutherans, and in turn asked the speaker who he was, and what his intentions were. To which he replied: "I am Pedro Menendez, general of this fleet of the Catholic king, Philip II. I have come to this country to hang and kill all the Lutherans I find in it, or meet at sea, according to the orders which I have received from the king my master; and these orders are so formal, that I am not at liberty to spare any one. I shall accordingly fulfil them to the letter; but when I have taken your ships, if I find any Catholics I shall treat them kindly: as for the heretics, all shall die."[3] 1565.

He attacks the French ships, which then escape, and he retires to the St. Augustine.

At these words, continues the Spanish author, the adelantado was interrupted by shouts, with atrocious and indecent insults to him and the Catholic king. Roused to anger, he ordered his men to beat to quarters, slipped his cable, and gave orders to board; but the cables getting foul of the anchors, the French had time to sail. The Spaniards gave chase, keeping up a cannonade, but too far off to reach.[4] Then Menendez, despairing of being

[1] Barcia does not say so.

[2] The Spaniards style all Protestants, Lutherans.—*Charlevoix.*

[3] Parkman, Pioneers, p. 100, n., gives Menendez' own version.

[4] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, pp.

1565. able to overtake them, about ten o'clock in the morning sailed back to May River, intending to enter it. He soon changed his mind, for seeing five ships at anchor, and two battalions drawn up in good order on the point of the bar, which fired on his vessels when they appeared, he feared that if he persisted in forcing a passage, the other French ships might return and take him between two fires. He therefore deemed it more advisable to return to the St. Augustine River.[1]

Council of war held at Caroline, and its resolve.

The four French ships, which had not lost sight of Menendez, seeing him sail off, at once veered and regained their former anchorage, head winds preventing their nearer approach to May River. As soon as they were moored, Cosset, their commander, wrote to Mr. de Ribaut, to inform him of all that occurred, and on this information the French commander called a council of war. All concurred that they must work incessantly to fortify Caroline, and send a large detachment by land to Dolphin River, to fall on the Spaniards before they had time to intrench.[2]

Ribaut proposes another.

Mr. de Ribaut, after hearing all, drew from his pocket a letter which he had received from Admiral Coligni a few days before his departure from France, by which that

75, 76. Mendoza says nothing of the French firing on the Spanish ships. He speaks of the perfect silence preserved for two hours, when Menendez hailed; and on the answer, "France," he rejoined: "What are you doing in the territories of King Philip? Go; for I do not see what you are doing or wish to do here." The French then asked the name of the Spanish commander, which he gave, and asked theirs. A boat then came on board from the French vessel; and after refusing to surrender in a very impolite manner, the French cut their cables and stood off (pp. 198, 199).

[1] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 76. Mendoza says the Spanish ships got scattered on the 5th, and three of the small vessels anchored near shore; and at night the French flag-ship came and anchored a league off. They were about to attack it on the 6th, when the second of the French flag-ship appeared; on which they bore down on her, and so made their way to St. Augustine (pp. 202, 203). Neither Mendoza, nor Laudonniere, nor the Histoire Merveilleuse, nor the Latin account mention the firing from the land.

[2] Le Moyne de Morgues, p. 23; Laudonniere in Basanier, p. 191; De Gallorum Expeditione, p. 446; Histoire Memorable, p. 267.

nobleman informed him that a Spanish officer, named Don Pedro Menendez, was prepared to go and attack New France, and expressly enjoined Ribaut not to permit him to undertake any thing prejudicial to his majesty's rights. There was nothing in this to oblige him to disregard the advice just unanimously given; yet he concluded that it was his duty to go with his four large ships to attack the three Spanish vessels, which Cosset represented as still at sea, saying that when he had them in his power, it would be easy for him to do as he liked with the rest. 1565.

His obstinate adherence to this plan against them all.

Mr. de Laudonniere, and a captain named la Grange, who enjoyed the admiral's confidence, easily refuted this argument; and the former added that the coast was subject to storms, which sometimes lasted several days; and that if, unfortunately, one came on while almost all the forces of the colony were at sea, there was nothing to prevent the Spaniards, who were at Dolphin River, coming and taking Caroline. They spoke in vain; Ribaut persisted in his design, although no one approved it: he even obliged Laudonniere, whom he left in command of Caroline, to give him all his garrison, and almost all his supplies.[1] La Grange did not wish to embark, and for two days declined, but was at last induced.[2]

He embarks in search of the Spaniards.

There remained in the fort with Mr. de Laudonniere, who was sick, only the Sieur du Lys, engineer, two gentlemen, la Vigne and St. Cler, and fifty persons; others say eighty-five, while others again swell the number to two hundred and forty; but all agree that there were not twenty in a state to fire a musket,—the rest were soldiers who had been wounded in the expedition against Outina, old mechanics, sutlers, women, and children.[3] On the

[1] Laudonniere in Basanier, Histoire Notable, pp. 192, 193; Le Moyne de Morgues in de Bry, p. 23. It would seem, however, that he proposed his plan first, and showed Coligni's letter to Laudonniere subsequently.

[2] Laudonniere, pp. 193, 194.

[3] Laudonniere's detailed account makes at most one hundred and twenty-three, besides the sick (pp. 196, 197). This does not apparently include himself and the gentlemen—say four more. In the De Gallorum

1565. 6th[1] of September the general embarked in search of the Spaniards, but contrary winds kept him at the roadstead till the 10th, when he set sail.

Menendez takes possession of St. Augustine River.

On the 7th, Don Pedro Menendez had entered Dolphin River, to which, as we have seen, he had given the name of St. Augustine, and which I shall so style in future. He immediately sent ashore thirty men, under Captains Andrew Lopez Patiño and John de San Vicente, whom he ordered to select an advantageous spot, and throw up temporary intrenchments, till they could build a fort. He landed himself at noon on the following day, and found, as he disembarked, a number of Indians, to whom he gave marks of friendship, and who confirmed all that he had heard of the position at Caroline. On the 9th he had Mass celebrated, again took possession of the country with all requisite formalities, and obliged his officers to swear that they would be faithful to him till the end of his expedition.[1]

After proceeding to visit the site chosen by his two captains, which he approved, he re-embarked, and reflecting on the danger, after his troops were landed, of a French attack on his ships, which rode at anchor a league and a half off shore, he diligently pushed on the debarkation of every thing that he required for the projected settlement, as well as the troops whom he designed to use in capturing Caroline.[2] The next day, learning that Mr. de Ribaut was approaching to engage him, he ordered the commander of the San Pelayo, with one other vessel, to weigh at midnight for Hispaniola. He himself embarked in a large boat, put one hundred and fifty soldiers on a vessel of a hundred tons, and with these two craft went and anchored on the bar in two fathoms water.[3]

Expeditione (p. 448) and Histoire Memorable (p. 270) the number is given at two hundred and forty, but we can scarcely suppose over one hundred sick.

[1] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 76, 2. Mendoza in Ternaux, p. 204. They make the Mass and oath of the officers, however, on the 8th.

[2] Barcia, p. 76.

[3] Barcia, p. 77, 1. Mendoza says they sailed after the French appeared —the San Pelayo for Spain, the other vessel for Cuba (pp. 208, 209).

At daybreak the French ships appeared at the very spot just left by the two Spanish vessels, and the next moment one of them advanced to the bar with three sloops. The adelantado saw the greatness of his peril; but, fortunately for him, the French had to wait two full hours for the return of the tide, so as to be able to cross the bar. The weather was fine, and the sea very beautiful, when suddenly there sprang up so violent a norther, that Mr. de Ribaut was forced to stand off the coast and abandon his prey at the very moment when, to all appearance, it could not escape.[1] 1565. The French are surprised by a furious storm just as they lower a boat to attack the Spaniards.

Menendez did not doubt but that this storm, which saved him, was an answer to the prayers he had offered up in the midst of the danger from which he beheld himself so happily delivered, and his only thought was to profit by the absence of the French. He had a Mass of the Holy Ghost said, at the close of which he assembled his council of war. He there stated, that if the king's service alone were in question, no one could be surprised at their renouncing an enterprise so beset with obstacles; but it was the cause of God, not to be forsaken without incurring the malediction of the Almighty. "We are," he added, "surrounded by enemies, our provisions begin to fail, but it is in such great extremities that real courage is shown." Menendez's speech to his officers.

At these words, the council interrupted him, assuring him that they were all ready to second him to their utmost. Then, full of renewed confidence, he resumed, and said "that Heaven visibly declared for them; that the success of their expedition was certain, if they were not wanting to themselves; that the French squadron, which three days before fled before them, had surely dared to come out and attack them only after being re-enforced with the best men in Fort Caroline; that the storm which had just driven

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[1] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 77, 2; Mendoza, p. 208; Menendez to the King, Oct. 15, cited in Parkman, 107; Le Moyne de Morgues, p. 24.

1565. them off, would not permit them to take refuge in their own port, and that, according to all appearances, they could not make it for some days. Moreover, they are heretics; and we knew, before leaving Spain, that their general, Ribaut, had forbidden any Catholic, under pain of death, to embark with him.[1] They have themselves assured us that they are all Lutherans. We are therefore obliged to make war on them to the utmost, not only because we have express orders, but also because they are determined on their side to show us no quarter, to prevent our planting the Catholic faith in a country where they wish to make their abominable sect prevail. Hence, we owe it equally to God and to the king our master, to perish rather than not complete what we have just so happily begun with the visible help of Heaven."

His plan to attack Caroline.

He then explained to them his project, which consisted in choosing five hundred soldiers, arquebusiers and pikemen, to make them take eight days' rations, to divide them into ten companies, each with its captain and flag, to march with them on Caroline, and to go himself two leagues ahead of them with a compass, a Frenchman who had fallen into his hands,[2] and some soldiers with axes to open a path through the woods. He added, that if happily he arrived before being discovered, he would at once order an escalade; that he would carry ladders to effect this, and that he calculated that it would not cost him fifty soldiers to take the place; that if, unfortunately, he was seen before getting out of the woods, he would intrench himself as near the fort as possible; that he would thence summon the commandant, offering to furnish him a boat and provisions to return to France; that this commander, perhaps, overrating his strength, would accept his offers; that, at all events, the French would not dare to come and

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[1] We shall see, later, that this was not true.—*Charlevoix.*

[2] Laudonniere in Basanier (p. 198) calls this man Francis John, and says that he was one of those who stole the barks.

attack him in a strong position; and that in the spring, when he received the expected aid from Hispaniola, he would be in a condition to reduce the French by force. 1565.

This speech did not elicit universal applause. There were even great disputes among the officers; but the majority siding with the captain-general, his plan was adopted. Menendez immediately made all preparations to carry it out. He ordered that all should hear Mass on the third day before taking up the line of march; that meanwhile the maestro-de-campo and the sergeant-major should select the five hundred men who were to compose the detachment, and take care to furnish them with every thing necessary; and as they were working on a fort—which has become a celebrated town, under the name of St Augustine—he placed there, as commandant, his brother, Bartholomew Menendez, and gave his admiral command of the artillery which he left, as well as of the three ships which he had retained.[1]

Mutiny among the troops. Resolution of Menendez.

All being thus arranged, the council broke up; but information of the projected movement spreading among the troops, excited great murmurs. It was still worse the next day: the sedition increased to that degree, that Captains John de San Vicente, Francis Recalde, and Diego de Maya, thought themselves justified in entreating the adelantado to forego his project. His only reply was to invite all the captains and several gentlemen to dine, and after treating them splendidly, he evinced displeasure at the fact that the secrecy of a council of war had been betrayed; he added that it was perhaps his duty to punish those guilty of such a breach of discipline, but that he would pardon them; he was, however, glad to let them know that, for the future, the slightest faults should be severely punished; that the discouragement manifest among the soldiers came solely from their officers; all, however, had not lost heart, and he saw with pleasure

[1] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 78.

1565. most preparing with alacrity to march at the first signal, because their captains set the example; that each one, nevertheless, was still at liberty to make any representations to him; that he was ready to change his opinions if any one showed him that it was for the best, but that a final resolution once taken, if any one was bold enough to speak before it was time to act, he would break him on the spot. All replied that nothing ought to be changed in the plan adopted; and those even who still continued to disapprove it, promised to do their duty.[1]

Seditious conduct of a captain.

The day having come, they were on the point of marching, when John de San Vicente declared that he was unwell, and that he would not go. As his friends sought to persuade him that this conduct would give him trouble, he replied that he expected to hear in a few days that the whole party had been slaughtered by the French, and that then it was his intention to embark with all who survived at St. Augustine, and make for the West Indies. "Is there any sense," he added, "in going to be slaughtered like cattle, by following so ill-conceived a project?"[2]

The adelantado pretended not to be informed of this speech, and put himself at the head of his van, with Martin de Ochoa, attended by twenty Biscayans and Asturians, who had been supplied with axes to clear the way. The rest of the troops followed, under the orders of the maestro-de-campo and sergeant-major. On the fourth day of the march they came within half a league of Caroline; and although there was a high wind, and the rain was pouring in torrents, Menendez pushed on a quarter of a league further, and halted in an extremely marshy spot, behind a pine wood which covered him. He then returned to his command, to serve them as guide, for fear they should lose their way.

At ten o'clock at night the whole army was assembled, but extremely fatigued and drenched with rain, which had

[1] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 78, 2.

[2] Ib., pp. 78. 79.

not slackened since their departure from St. Augustine: they had, moreover, been obliged to cross marshes, with water up to the waist. The rain then poured down so violently that they had great difficulty in protecting their arms, powder, and matches. So many difficulties made the soldiers lose heart: nothing was to be heard but maledictions on the general; and Ferdinand Perez, an ensign in San Vicente's company, was even heard to say aloud, that he did not understand how so many brave men let themselves be sold in this way by an Asturian mountaineer, who knew no more about making war on land than a horse did: that for his part, if he had been master, he would have treated him, the day they left St. Augustine on this accursed expedition, as he would soon be treated by the French.[1] 1565.

What the army had to suffer during the march.

The adelantado was well aware of all said against him, but he wisely dissembled; and firm in his resolve, he called the maestro-de-campo and all the captains two hours before daybreak: he told them that all night long he had not ceased consulting Heaven, and praying the Almighty to inspire him with what best became His service; that he was satisfied that they had done the same, each by himself; that it was at last time to determine what was to be done in the sad strait in which they were, harassed, without force, bread, munitions, or any human resource.

Menendez consults his officers.

Some replied that it was of no use to lose time in deliberating; that they should at once take up the march back to St. Augustine; that the palm-trees would make up for the bread they needed; and that by further delay they merely exposed themselves to manifest danger of perishing. Menendez agreed that this advice was wise; that he nevertheless begged them to allow him to say a word, after which they should be at liberty to do as they chose;—that if, so far, he had only followed his own ideas, he wished in future to be guided by the counsel of his friends and com-

Reply of some.

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[1] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 79. Mendoza, in his account, accuses Menendez of temerity. Ternaux-Compans, Recueil, p. 211.

1565. rades in arms. "Let us know, then," said one of them, "what you think, and we will then give you our opinion."

He advises an attack on Caroline.

"I believe, my friends," resumed Menendez, "that as we are here at the gates of Caroline, we should try our chance. If we cannot take the place, we will at least be in no fear that our enemies, who according to all appearances are few in number, will venture into the woods to pursue us, and our retreat will be perfectly safe: perhaps even, when they see us in line ready to attack, they will surrender, without awaiting an assault that they cannot sustain. If not, there is nothing then to prevent our adopting the course proposed, and we shall at least have the consolation of having done all that was possible."

His advice adopted. He prepares to attack.

The maestro-de-campo, the sergeant-major, and most of the captains, scarcely gave him time to finish, and conjured him to lead them against the enemy. Some at first wished to object, but they were soon gained. The adelantado, in the fulness of his joy, at once made all kneel to implore the help of the God of Hosts; then he ranged the companies in the order which they were to retain in the attack. He put himself at their head, with his French fugitive or prisoner,—for accounts differ on the point, but we know positively that the man had his hands tied behind his back. But as the night was very dark, and the wind and rain did not slacken, those in advance lost their way. This obliged the adelantado to halt, and wait for daylight, in a place where he was up to his knees in water.[1]

Condition of the fort.

Meanwhile, Mr. de Laudonniere, equally alarmed as to Ribaut's fate, on account of the storm, which he had, unfortunately, but too clearly foreseen, and which still lasted, and also because, with all the efforts he had made to put Caroline in a state of defence, three great breaches still remained, did not suppose the enemy so near him. It even happened that the fearful weather that night,

[1] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, pp. 79. 80.

which had so discouraged the Spaniards, was really what contributed most to the success of their enterprise; for the Sieur de la Vigne, who was on guard, seeing the soldiers all drenched with rain, took pity on them, and allowed them to go and rest before others came to relieve them: the continuance of the storm banishing every idea of there being any thing to fear from the enemy.[1] 1565.

It is surprised.

Menendez, on his side, had resumed his march at daybreak, after ordering all his men to follow, under pain of death. He soon found himself at the foot of a hill, behind which the Frenchman, who still accompanied him, declared that Caroline stood, and only about three musket-shots off. Menendez ascended the hill, and seeing only some houses, which concealed the fort, wished to go and reconnoitre, but the maestro-de-campo would not permit him, going himself with Ochoa. These two officers examined the fort leisurely; but as they were returning to report to the general what they had seen, they mistook one road for another, and a Frenchman discovering them gave the *qui vive!* Ochoa replied *France*, and the man, taking them for countrymen, approached.[2]

Ochoa went to meet him, and the soldier, perceiving his error, stopped. Ochoa ran at him, and without thinking, or taking time to draw his sword, dealt him a blow with it in the scabbard on the head. He did not injure him greatly, as the soldier parried the blow with his sword; but the maestro-de-campo gave him a second, that stunned and brought him to the ground. He then put the point of his sword to his breast, because he began to cry out, and told him to hold his tongue or he was a dead man. He then bound him and took him towards Menendez, who at the man's cry had supposed the maestro-de-campo killed. Turning towards his sergeant-major, Francis Recalde, and Andrew Lopez Patiño, who with their companies stood

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[1] Le Moyne de Morgues in De Bry, p. 24. Laudonniere, p. 197.

[2] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 80.

1565. nearest to him, he said: "Friends, God is with us; the maestro-de-campo is in the fort."

At these words all started, running at full speed: the foremost came up with Ochoa and the maestro-de-campo, who, unable to retain his prisoner, had killed him, and was calling at the top of his voice, "Comrades, follow me; God is on our side!" He then advanced towards the fort, and finding two Frenchmen in their shirts, he killed one and Patiño the other.[1] At that moment a soldier of the garrison having by chance ascended the rampart, perceived the Spaniards coming down the hill already mentioned, and marching in order of battle. He cried, "To arms!" On this, Mr. de Laudonniere ran up with the bravest; but he had scarcely time to look around, when the enemy entered by the three breaches, and by the wicket, which some one had opened to see what the matter was. In a moment all resounded with the groans of women, children, and the sick, whom they were butchering. Laudonniere flew to their assistance, but he was too late: he sought to gain a spot where he might keep the assailants at bay, till help came from the three vessels anchored off the fort; he showed himself everywhere, fighting with a valor which elicited the admiration even of his enemies; but the Frenchman, whom Menendez kept constantly beside him, having pointed him out, the whole combat centred on him alone, and he saw that he must think only of retreating. He did so, fighting steadily, and thus enabling the few surviving French to make good their escape to the woods. He was the last to enter them, preceded by his servant-woman, who was badly wounded, and by the Sieur de Morgues.[2]

There were, nevertheless, in the fort only the two companies commanded by the sergeant-major and Diego de

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[1] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 80.

[2] Laudonniere, pp. 198, 199; Le Moyne de Morgues, p. 26; Histoire Memorable, pp. 270, 271. Charlevoix in this place rather exaggerates the prowess of Laudonniere.

Maya, the colors of which were planted simultaneously on the ramparts by Roderic Troche and Peter Valdez Herrera. But the blast of the trumpets soon brought up the whole army; and the adelantado, seeing that the French no longer made any resistance, gave orders to spare the women and all the children under fifteen. The Spanish author declares that seventy were saved.[1] Menendez then posted sentinels at the magazine, which his Frenchman pointed out, and which was well supplied with munitions and articles of trade; after which he approached the river, and summoned those on board the three ships to surrender. 1565.

What occurred in regard to the three French ships anchored off Caroline.

They refused, and he prepared to sink them. As soon as his battery was planted, he sent to summon the commanders in due form. They replied that if the general wished to treat with them, they would send a boat to bring off one to represent him. The adelantado sent his prisoner, with orders to tell them that they might choose one of the three remaining ships, and take in provisions for all, and those of Caroline whose lives had been saved; that he would give them a passport to go where they liked, but on condition that they should have neither artillery nor other munitions of war; but that if they declined this offer, he would sink them, and give quarter to none.[2]

His envoy soon returned, and informed him that the commander-in-chief of the three ships was the son[3] of General Ribaut—other memoirs say his nephew[4]—and that he had replied that he did not see why the Spaniards made war on him, when he bore a commission from the king, his master, with whom the Catholic king was at peace. That, moreover, he would defend himself if attacked, and, as he hoped, successfully. On this reply, Diego de Maya fired a cannon, which pierced one of

[1] Barcia, p. 81. Mendoza is silent.

[2] Ibid. See Laudonniere, p. 201.

[3] James Ribaut. Le Moyne, p. 26. Barcia, pp. 81, 2.

[4] Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1632), p. 18.

1565. the three vessels at the water-line. The crew, unable to remedy it, except by exposing them to the enemy's fire, took to the boats, passing to the other two ships, which cut their cables, and anchored out of reach of the cannon.[1]

What befell Mr. de Laudonniere after the capture of the fort.

The French memoirs give a different version; but we must go back somewhat in our narrative, which being from Mr. de Laudonniere himself, seems certain. This commander having escaped in the manner that we have seen, found about a dozen of his people in the wood. He proposed to approach the river, and reach the vessels just mentioned; but some preferred to trust to the Indians, and left him. He set out with the rest, and they walked all night, in water almost to their waists. Towards sunset they lost their way and were forced to stop, being too fatigued to swim. Still, two of the most vigorous resolved to risk it, so as to give the ships tidings, and bring them boats.

In fact, the next morning early the boats appeared. It was time for them to come. Mr. de Laudonniere was dying, and most of the rest were hardly any better off: they were brought to with brandy, which their deliverers had had the precaution to bring; and as soon as the commandant had somewhat regained his strength, he wished, before embarking, to make a tour through the wood,[2] to see whether he could find any of his people who had lost their way. Those who had left him at first had almost all joined him; many others had also reached the bank of the river by various routes, and he had the consolation of saving about twenty.[3]

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[1] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, pp. 81, 82. The French account, Histoire Memorable, says (p. 278) that the Spanish fire did no injury. As they scuttled a vessel soon after, the Spaniards naturally put the sinking to their own credit.

[2] He did not, and could not, make any turn in the woods: he merely got the boat to run along the cane-brake before rowing off to the ship. Laudonniere, pp. 200, 201.

[3] Laudonniere, pp. 200, 201. Challeux, in the Histoire Memorable, p. 28, says that twenty-six were taken off with Laudonniere to Maillard's

Meanwhile, there remained opposite the fort only that one of the three French ships commanded by James de Ribaut. That officer had seen the Spaniards enter Caroline, without firing a single cannon at them, although near enough to do them considerable injury, and having sixty soldiers and a pretty good crew on board. It is true that the fort was taken so suddenly, that Ribaut was apparently unaware of the attack till the moment when the enemy were in, and that in firing on them he might fear that his balls would reach his countrymen; but it is not so easy to excuse his conduct to Mr. de Laudonniere, after the latter had reached his ship. 1565. Misconduct of young Ribaut.

He first weighed anchor to join the other two ships, which were anchored near the mouth of the river. Then Laudonniere proposed to go in search of Mr. de Ribaut, whose fate was still unknown; but he declared it to be his intention to proceed to France, without stopping anywhere. This so shocked Laudonniere, that he went to another vessel.[1] Unfortunately, the ship had no pilot who durst venture to sail alone. Ribaut had four, but would give none. The third ship and another vessel which remained on the coast had not sailors enough to work them, and they had to be abandoned. Laudonniere advised Ribaut to set them on fire, to prevent the Spaniards using them, either against him or against the squadron if it reappeared; but

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vessel. This does not apparently include all, as his party and Laudonniere's numbered much more. Barcia says that sixty escaped, of whom six surrendered, and ten were subsequently taken, making those who reached the ships forty-four. Mendoza says nothing of the seventy saved. He gives one hundred and forty-two killed, including a "great cosmographer and magician," and says about three hundred escaped (p 221). But the last figures are evidently wild. Laudonniere may perhaps underrate his force; but the Spanish accounts bear it out, making about two hundred in all, besides the women and children.

[1] Laudonniere's narrative and Challeux are silent as to any proposal to seek John Ribault. Laudonniere says that after reaching the vessels, he was in the Levrier, when "Captain James Ribault and Captain Valuot came to see me; and there we concluded to return to France." As to his going to another vessel he is silent.

1565. he would do nothing, so that Mr. de Laudonniere, who deemed this precaution absolutely necessary, was obliged to send his carpenter secretly to scuttle and sink them.[1]

Laudonniere arrives in France.

What then became of young Ribaut is not stated.[2] As for Mr. de Laudonniere, after buffeting with head winds, and suffering greatly from hunger, he was driven ashore in the British Channel, and compelled to land at Bristol.[3] He was long sick in England, and on his recovery passed over to France, where, the Spaniards pretend, he was ill-received by the king.[4] Even this would not prove what the Spaniards endeavor to show, that the king was in league with his brother-in-law, to exterminate the Huguenots in Florida: but Admiral Coligni was more embroiled than ever with the court, and all attached to him were regarded unfavorably.

Several French hung by the Spaniards.

Notwithstanding Laudonniere's exertions, all the French would not or could not follow him. Some fled to the Indians, a few surrendered to the Spaniards, who placed them with the prisoners made at the capture of Caroline.[5] The French historians all agree[6] in stating that all these were hung to a tree, on which was a label inscribed: "These are not treated thus as Frenchmen, but as heretics

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[1] Le Moyne de Morgues, p. 27. Laudonniere says nothing of Ribault's opposing the destruction of the useless vessels. He says that from that bought of Hawkins he took the cannon—giving nine pieces to James Ribault, and keeping five—and that he sank another. Le Moyne says, two others.

[2] Laudonniere and Ribault sailed in company, September 25th, each with half the survivors; but Ribault, whose vessel was the Pearl, left him next day. Laudonniere, p. 202. Challeux apparently sailed with Ribault; and after engaging a Spanish ship, reached Rochelle. Histoire Memorable, pp. 289-291.

[3] He first reached Sovaneze (Swansea), in Wales (ib., 204); and being sick, sent his vessel to France.

[4] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 81.

[5] Six surrendered, were killed, and dragged to the river-side, in sight of Ribault's vessel. Histoire Memorable, p. 277.

[6] This is not stated by Laudonniere, nor by Challeux, nor by Chauveton in his Latin version of Challeux, nor in the letter addressed to King Charles. The story was apparently put forward for the first time in the account of de Gourgues' expedition. It can hardly be said, therefore, that the French all agree.

and enemies of God." They add that the Spaniards, learning subsequently that several Frenchmen had been well received by the Indians, made such diligent search, and so intimidated the savages, that most of these poor fugitives were obliged to give themselves up to the enemy, who showed them as little mercy as they did their comrades. Others, to the number of twenty, pursued by the Spaniards, fled through the woods, and were all shot down. 1565.

Caroline styled San Matheo.

Thus did Don Pedro Menendez become master of French Florida. He immediately gave Caroline the name of San Matheo, which it still bears, because he entered it the day on which the festival of St. Matthew is celebrated. At the same time he displaced the arms of France and of Admiral Coligni, which were over the principal gate, and set up those of Spain.[1] The next day, the 22d, he marked out a spot to build a church: then having reviewed his troops, he found that he had not four hundred effective men, although he had lost very few, and perhaps not a man in the surprise of Caroline. But during the march several returned to St. Augustine, because they despaired of the success of the enterprise; some lost their way, and others lagged behind from cowardice or mere fatigue.

The adelantado returns to St. Augustine.

The adelantado then appointed his sergeant-major, Gonzalo de Vilarroel, governor of San Matheo, and left him three hundred men as a garrison. He wished to march back to St. Augustine the next morning; but his officers declared that they were not yet fit to march, and he allowed them to remain as long as they wished. He added that, for his own part, he could not defer his departure, as he feared that Mr. de Ribaut might make up for the loss of Caroline by carrying St. Augustine; and that if any had good-will enough to follow him he would feel indebted to him, but he would not force any one. Thirty-five offered, and he set out on the 23d with them,

[1] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 82.

1565. and Francis de Castañeda, the captain of his guards,—commanding Medrano, Patiño, and Alvarado to follow him as soon as possible, and the other officers not to leave the fort without his order.

He is received there in triumph.

As the rains still continued, and the whole country was inundated, it is inconceivable how much he suffered on this march; but he was borne up by his exultation at the success of his enterprise. He at last reached St. Augustine, where he had been deplored as dead, inasmuch as the deserters, to cloak the baseness of their conduct, had announced that he had perished, with all his force. Two soldiers, who had pushed on in advance, having declared the contrary and announced his speedy return, all, in a moment, passed from the most extreme consternation to excess of joy. All went to meet the conqueror of the heretics, with cross and clergy, singing the *Te Deum;* and thus was he received in triumph.[1]

Fire at San Matheo. The San Pelayo captured by the French.

His first care was to send provisions to San Matheo, which was in greater need than he was aware of,—a fire, supposed not to be the effect of mere chance, having reduced almost all the buildings to ashes. He also learned soon after that the garrison of that place had mutinied against its officers. These were not the only misfortunes to dampen the joy of the adelantado. He had put several Frenchmen, who had fallen into his hands on his arrival in Florida, on board the galleon San Pelayo; and his orders were, that after they were landed in St. Domingo, they should be sent to the Inquisition in Spain: but they were scarcely out at sea, when, with the help of some foreigners and a few sailors whom they gained, they dispatched the officers, made sure of the crew, and carried the galleon into Denmark.[2]

Mr. de Ribaut's squadron, of which there were as yet no tidings, also gave the Spanish general some uneasiness,

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[1] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico. p. 82, 3; Mendoza, Memoir, p. 223.

[2] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 84.

as he had no vessel able to resist it, if it attacked him before the arrival of the rest of the fleet, which he awaited impatiently. But his fears and his hopes vanished almost simultaneously; and the sad fate of the French squadron made him bear more easily the loss of his galleon and the dispersion of his fleet, of which he was soon informed. 1565.

Menendez learns bad news of the fleet.

The storm which had driven Mr. Ribaut away from the St. Augustine River, at the moment when he held the Spaniards there unable to resist him, lasted till the 23d of September, and forced him ashore more than fifty leagues from there, in the direction of the Bahama Channel, and finally dashed all his ships to pieces on the rocks. All his men escaped by swimming; but all that was on the ships was lost.[1] The sequel of this unhappy adventure is so differently represented by the French and Spaniards, that it is absolutely impossible to reconcile them. In such cases, where truth, for all his endeavor, eludes him, the impartial writer owes it to the fidelity of history to give the contradictory versions, adding the reasons and authorities which support them, and leaving the public to judge.

Ribaut's shipwreck. Contradiction between historians on the point.

Mr. de Ribaut, say the French historians, finding himself wrecked on an unknown coast, without arms or provisions, wished to try and reach May River. The difficulties, misery, and hardship endured by this wretched band, on their march through an unknown, uninhabited, and often impracticable country, are more easily conceived than described. At last, the commander, finding an abandoned sloop on the shore, sent Michael le Vasseur in it, to go and reconnoitre the condition of affairs at Caroline.

What befell the French after the shipwreck, according to our historians.

Le Vasseur went near enough to discern the Spanish ensigns on the fort.[2] His return with this sad tidings appalled every heart, and it was long before they could come to any resolution. At last, Mr. de Ribaut resolved

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[1] Histoire Memorable, p. 292.

[2] Histoire Memorable, pp. 293–5. He says, *Thomas* le Vasseur. Le Moyne de Morgues, p. 28; De Gallorum Expeditione, pp. 465, 466. The fort must be St. Augustine.

1565. to send Nicholas Verdier, captain of one of his ships, and Sergeant la Caille, to learn from the Spanish commander what treatment they might expect. These two men, having reached the bank of the river opposite to the fortress, made a signal, which was no sooner perceived than a boat was sent. They were then taken to the commander, of whom they asked what had become of Mr. de Laudonniere and his garrison. The commandant replied, that after the capture of Caroline, they had given them a ship well equipped, in which they had sailed for France; and that if Mr. de Ribaut would surrender at discretion, he would experience the same effects of his generosity.[1]

Negotiation and surrender.

This reply, which the two envoys deemed sincere, reassured them; and they hastened back to inform their general. Opinions were, nevertheless, divided among the French: some maintaining that they should distrust men who were known to hold it as a principle that it was doing a work pleasing to God to exterminate those who did not profess the Roman religion; and others saying that a speedy death was better than the deplorable condition in which they were. Ribaut concurred with the latter, and drew all to his view. La Caille was sent back to San Matheo, and asked only what the commandant of the fort had himself offered—namely, that all should have liberty to proceed to France, and that a vessel should be furnished with all its rigging and necessary provisions. The commandant renewed his promise, and swore to its execution by all that he held sacred.[2]

After such formal assurances, there was no one among the French who at all hesitated to surrender himself into the hands of the Spaniards. The latter sent boats; but scarcely had they crossed the river when they saw that they were deceived. As they left the boats, they were tied

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[1] Le Moyne de Morgues, p. 28. The Histoire Memorable (p. 296) is very brief.

[2] Le Moyne de Morgues, p. 29. He says a written pledge was given, but it is utterly improbable.

in fours. Messieurs de Ribaut and d'Ottigny were led alone to the parade of the fort, where, on asking to speak to the commandant, to learn from him why they were treated so at variance with the promise made them, they were informed that the commandant was not to be seen. 1565. Slaughter of Ribaut's party.

A moment after, a private soldier came up to Mr. de Ribaut, and asked him whether he was not the general of the French. He replied that he was. "Have you not always established," rejoined the soldier, "that those under your orders should obey you punctually?" "Undoubtedly," replied Ribaut, who could not see the drift of all this. "Then do not find it strange," replied the soldier, "that I, too, fulfil an order given by my commandant;" and with these words he drove a dagger into his heart. Another soldier subjected d'Ottigny to the same questions and treatment, that officer calling God to witness the perfidy of the Spaniards.

This first execution was a signal for the garrison, who in an instant rushed on the Frenchmen and butchered them all in a moment.[1] According to a document which on this point seems above suspicion, eight hundred Frenchmen perished by the hands of the Spaniards; but to all appearance we must include in this number all who were killed when Caroline was taken. It is certain, moreover, that Menendez reserved several mechanics and other tradesmen for the works which he designed at San Matheo and St. Augustine.

Some have written that Mr. de Ribaut was flayed alive, and that his skin was sent to Spain;[2] but I do not find this supported by sufficient authority. A very curious document,[3] presented the next year to King Charles IX., under the title of "Supplication of the widows and chil-

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[1] Le Moyne de Morgues, p. 29. The Histoire Memorable says Ribaut and Ottigny were killed last (p. 299).

[2] This statement and that of the hanging do not appear in the early accounts, but are both in La Reprinse de la Floride.

[3] Evidently the Supplex Libellus addressed to Charles IX. Benzoni, Novæ Novi Orbis Hist., p. 472.

1565. dren of those who were massacred in Florida," merely says that after a soldier struck the general from behind, he fell senseless; that he was deprived of life on the spot, and his beard cut off and sent to Seville by Don Pedro Menendez, as a trophy of his victory; that his head, cut into four pieces, was exposed on as many pikes;[1] that the bodies of those who had been killed at the capture of Caroline were brought to the spot where the others had just been massacred; that the frightful remains of these wretched beings were treated with unparalleled indignity, and then all consumed together.

Singular adventure of a sailor.

The account just given from Mr. de Laudonniere, who added it to his Relation, is based mainly on the account of one of Mr. de Ribaut's sailors, whose adventures are somewhat surprising. This man had been bound like the rest, and received several dagger-thrusts, which made him fall lifeless under the four others to whom he was attached. No one doubted but what he was dead; but coming to himself the next night, and recollecting that he had a knife in his pocket, he used it to sever his bonds, rose, and reached the wood. He then bound up his wounds as well as he could; and not deeming it safe so near the Spaniards, he started away and marched for three days, guided by the sun.

He at last reached a village, the chief of which received him readily. He was well treated and his wounds dressed, so that he recovered completely; but at the end of eight months, the paraousti informed him that he could shelter him no longer, and that he must surrender himself to the

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[1] Supplex Libellus (p. 469), confirmed by De Gallorum Expeditione (pp. 468, 469) and Histoire Memorable (p. 300); but the statement as to the burning is not in the Supplex Libellus nor in the Histoire Memorable. Chauveton adds it to his translation (p. 469), having heard it from "a noble Briton, who saw Florida." Yet even he does not say that bodies were brought from the St. John's, and it is too improbable to credit. This account of Ribault's end is given on the authority of Christopher le Breton of Havre de Grace, who was sent to Spain, but escaped. Another account will be noticed hereafter.

Spaniards or be given up. Astounded at this announcement, and not knowing what to do, he fled; and after long wanderings at random, found himself two leagues from San Matheo. Then he was seized with redoubled fear, which put him beside himself; and unable to bring himself to surrender into the hands of his executioners, he resolved to stay where he was, and die of starvation. 1565.

He had already gone four or five days without food, and scarcely retained the human figure, when he was found by a Spaniard hunting. The latter was seized with horror at the sight of this wretch, who implored his life with clasped hands. He promised to use all his influence with the governor to obtain his pardon, and he did not take him to the fort till he had obtained it. The sailor was then put with the slaves, and remained in the fort a whole year in that condition. At the end of that time he was sent to Havana, where he was put with a French gentleman named Pompierre, who had been a prisoner in that port since the unfortunate expedition of the mutineers of Caroline, which he had been forced to join. They were chained together, and sold to some Portuguese going to Brazil. Fortunately the vessel bearing them was taken by Bontems, a French captain, and they thus recovered their liberty at a time when they had every reason to believe that their slavery would end only with life.[1] Capture by the Spaniards.

I have said that this account is the source to which all have resorted who have written on the tragical catastrophe of the French in Florida;[2] but there is so great a diversity of circumstances in the narrative they give, that it is by no means easy to unravel the exact truth. All, however, agree sufficiently on the most essential points, and especially on the pledge given under oath to Mr. de Ribaut, to furnish him a vessel to carry him and his party to France. Mr. de Thou[3] states, in addition, that Menendez treated the

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[1] Le Moyne de Morgues, pp. 29, 30.

[2] Le Breton's account was the first.

[3] De Thou, Histoire Universelle, l. xliv., vol. v., p. 500.

1565. French in Florida as he did, only by the influence of the chief ministers of the French court, who informed him of Ribaut's departure, that he might pursue and attack them. The recent historian of Florida proves clearly enough the falsity of this assertion; but if the French in Florida were not disavowed by their own sovereign,—if Messieurs de Ribaut and de Laudonniere had commissions from that prince to build forts and found settlements in that part of America, where Spain had never had any,—how justify the manner in which they were treated in time of peace, even according to the account given by Doctor Solis de las Meras, whose sister had married Don Pedro Menendez, and who accompanied that general on his expedition? It is on the testimony of this doctor, who speaks as an eye-witness, and who has been copied by Don André Gonzalez de Barcia, that I am going to give the second version of the close of that tragedy, the scene of which is transported from San Matheo to St. Augustine.

Spanish version.

While Peter Menendez was engaged in fortifying the latter place, for fear that de Ribaut should come to assail him, some Indians informed him that there were a number of Christians four leagues off, greatly embarrassed to cross a bay, which was, however, merely the quite narrow mouth of a small river.[1] On this news, the adelantado took with him forty soldiers, to go and see to what country these Christians belonged; but as he set out quite late, it was night when he reached the place announced to him, and he encamped a short distance from the river.

The next morning he posted his detachment in a way not to be perceived. He then climbed a tree, from which he could see a large force on the other side of the bay, and he even observed that they had flags. He got down, and approached the river. As soon as he appeared,[2] a Gascon

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[1] Probably Matanzas Inlet.

[2] Mendoza (Memoir, p. 230) says, disguised as a sailor. To carry out the deception, he may have given his name as Villemande, according to the French version.

from St. Jean de Luz swam over, and told him that all whom he saw were Frenchmen, who had been wrecked. Menendez asked him whence they came, and he answered that they were the people of Mr. de Ribaut, captain-general of Florida for the king of France. The adelantado asked whether they were Catholics, and he answered, "No." "You can tell your general," replied the adelantado, "that I am Peter Menendez, viceroy and captain-general of Florida for the Catholic king Philip II.; that I have come with soldiers, as I knew that you were there." 1565. Ribaut's advanced party.

The Frenchman returned with this answer, and soon after came back to ask the Spanish general for a safe conduct for his commander and four gentlemen who wished to treat with him, if he would send them a boat. One had just arrived from St. Augustine with provisions. Menendez replied that he granted it, and that the commander could come on his word. An officer and some soldiers were sent, who were well received. The adelantado had near him only ten men; the rest of his detachment was a little further off, behind some bushes, so arranged as to appear much greater in number than it was. The officer, on meeting the general, told him that they had been wrecked in the late storm; that they had lost four vessels and all their boats; that he begged him to lend them his boat to cross a bay and an arm of the sea four leagues off, so as to reach a fort which the king their master had at a distance of twenty leagues thence.

The adelantado asked him whether they were Catholics, and the officer replied that they belonged to the reformed religion. Then he said: "Sir, I have taken your fort, and put the garrison to the sword; but I have spared the women, and the children under fifteen years; and to remove all doubts, two of your countrymen, whom I spared because they declared themselves to be Catholics, are here among my soldiers. Rest here, I will bring you something to eat, you shall see your two countrymen, and part of the booty taken by my men at Caroline." He had

1565. them served at once, and went to take his meal with his own men.

The negotiation.

After the lapse of an hour he returned to the French, and asked them whether they were convinced of what he had told them? The officer replied that he could not doubt it, and that he implored him to give them a vessel to return to France. "I would do it willingly," replied the adelantado, "if you were Catholics, and I had vessels to spare." "At least," replied the officer, "permit us to stay with you, till an occasion offers for us to sail; there is no war between our two nations, and our kings are friends and brothers." "It is true," replied Menendez, "that the French Catholics are our friends and allies; but it is not so with heretics, on whom I make war with fire and sword, and will make it with all cruelty[1] on all of that sect that I meet on land or water; and in this I profess to serve both kings. I have come to Florida to plant the Roman Catholic faith. If you throw yourselves on my mercy, and give up your arms and ensigns, I will do what God inspires me: if not, take such course as you please, but expect neither friendship nor truce from me."

With these words he left them, telling them to consult. The Gascon already mentioned then offered to go and report to the whole troop what he had just heard. He was allowed to do so, and after two hours came back. Then the officer and his companions went to the adelantado, and offered him twenty thousand ducats if he would guarantee them their lives. Menendez replied that, although he was only a poor soldier, he was incapable of acting from motives of interest; that if he granted a favor he would do it from pure generosity; and, as the officer insisted, he protested that they would sooner see heaven and earth come together, than see him change his resolution.

At this answer, the officer and his gentlemen recrossed

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[1] Que tenia con ellos guerra a sangre e fuego, y que esta la haria con toda crueldad. Ensayo Cronologico, p. 86, 2.

the bay, and at the end of half an hour came back, as they had promised, with the ensigns, seventy arquebuses, twenty pistols, a quantity of swords and bucklers, some helmets and cuirasses. The officer said to the Spanish general, on surrendering the whole to him, that he threw himself on his mercy. Then Menendez commanded his admiral, Diego Florez de Valdez, to take all these spoils, and at the same time he put twenty soldiers in the boat, with orders to bring all the French across, but in small parties, and without offering them any insult. He himself took the officer and his company about two short gunshots from the river, where he had their hands tied behind their backs, saying that he was obliged to take this precaution, because they far outnumbered his men. All the others, to the number of two hundred,[1] were likewise bound, but after food had been given to them. 1565.

This done, the adelantado asked them whether there were any Catholics among them. Eight were found, who were at once put on the boat to be taken to St. Augustine. All the rest declared that they were good Christians, and followed the new reform. They were immediately divided into bands of ten. The adelantado had them marched off separately, and commanded those who were appointed to conduct them, that when they arrived at a place which he designated, and where he had drawn a line on the sand with his cane, all should be put to death; which was done.[2]

Ribaut's main party.

The next day Menendez returned to St. Augustine, where the same Indians who had given him the first information of the arrival of the French, came to tell him that another troop, more numerous than the first, had appeared at the same place. Not doubting but that this was Mr.

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[1] Two hundred and eight (Barcia, p. 87). One hundred and forty (Menendez to the king).

[2] Mendoza says he saved ten or twelve, and that one hundred and eleven were put to death, not counting fourteen or fifteen prisoners (p. 232). He gives the date, September 22, 1565. Mendoza here closes his account. Menendez himself, in his letter to the king, says he spared sixteen.

1565. de Ribaut, with the rest of his army, he took one hundred and fifty soldiers, and by night ranged them in good order on the bank of the river. At daybreak he perceived the French at some distance from the opposite bank; and, at the water's edge, a kind of raft which they had constructed to cross the bay. The French, on their side, no sooner discovered him, than they sounded an alarm, displayed the royal standard and two ensigns, and drew up in line of battle to the sound of drum and fife.

Negotiation.

At this sight the adelantado ordered his soldiers to sit down, breakfast, and show no sign of concern. As for himself, he walked calmly on the bank with his admiral and two other officers, as though there was no one on the other side. Then the French stopped their fife and drum, sounded a trumpet, and raised a white flag in token of peace. The Spaniards did the same, and a Frenchman immediately advanced on the raft, and asked the Spaniards to send them some one. The adelantado replied that as they had a raft, it was their part to come across if they wanted any thing. The Frenchman replied that the current was too strong to risk crossing on a raft; but that if he would send over a periagua, that was on the bank, some one would go to speak with him.[1]

Menendez replied that he should swim over and come on his word. A sailor did so, and the adelantado, without hearkening to him, told him to take the periagua, and go tell his commandant from him, that if he wished any thing he should send to ask it. The sailor soon after returned with a gentleman, who told Menendez that he was sergeant-major of Mr. de Ribaut, viceroy and captain-general of Florida for the king of France; that the last storm had wrecked his vessels; that he had with him three hundred and fifty Frenchmen, with whom he desired to proceed to a fort which he had twenty leagues off; that he begged him to lend them boats to cross that river, and another

[1] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 88.

four leagues further on; and that he desired to know with whom he was treating.[1] 1565.

Reply of Menendez.

The adelantado made him the same reply that he did to the first Frenchmen, adding that he had already punished with death another party escaping from the same shipwreck, because it had acted badly. He even led him to where the bodies of the unfortunate men still lay, and added that he had no boats to lend them. The officer, without evincing the least emotion, asked him whether he would not have the kindness to send one of his gentlemen, or cross the river himself, to declare his intentions to the French general. "Brother," replied the adelantado, "take my answer to your commandant, and tell him, that if he wishes to confer with me, he may come to meet me with four or six of his men, to deliberate on the course most expedient to adopt, and I give him all security for this purpose."

The gentleman set out with this answer, and returned in half an hour, assuring the adelantado that Mr. de Ribaut was disposed to meet him on his word; that he begged him to send his boat. This Menendez refused, saying that the French general could cross in the periagua without any risk. Mr. de Ribaut was therefore forced to embark in the periagua, with eight gentlemen. He was well received by the adelantado, who at once had a collation served up to them. He then showed him the dead bodies of his men. He repeated to him all that he had informed him by message of the capture of Caroline, and perceiving that Ribaut was not convinced, made two Frenchmen come, who had witnessed every thing, and who assured their general that the statement was true.[2]

Then Mr. de Ribaut told the Spanish general that the events of life were so varied, that all that had just befallen the French might well one day befall himself: that their kings were friends and brothers, and that in the name of

[1] Barcia, Ensayo Cronolog., p. 88. [2] Ib., p. 88. [3] Ib. p. 88.

1565. that alliance he conjured him to furnish him a vessel and provisions to return to France. But he could draw from him no answer but that given to the first party. On this, he said that he would go and deliberate with his council, because, having many gentlemen with him, he could not resolve on any course without their participation. Menendez approved this conduct. Ribaut again crossed the river, and in less than three hours returned.[1]

Ribaut's attempt to obtain terms.

He told the adelantado that a part of his force consented to surrender at discretion, but not the majority. Menendez replied that they were free to do as they chose, the thing being indifferent to him. Mr. de Ribaut replied that those who surrendered to him offered more than one hundred thousand ducats for their ransom; that the others would give still more, because some of them were very rich, and that they were even not disinclined to stay in the country, if they were permitted to do so. "I would much need the aid," replied Menendez, "to carry out the orders which I have received from the king my master, which are to conquer and settle Florida and establish the gospel there: I greatly regret that I cannot avail myself of it."[2]

This answer made Mr. de Ribaut believe that the Spanish general would at last be tempted; he told him that if he would grant him till next day, he would go again and deliberate with his troop, and bring a final answer. He obtained his request, returned the next day, and began by presenting to the adelantado two standards—one of the king of France, and the other of Admiral Coligni; the colors of the companies, a sword, a dagger, a gold helmet, very finely wrought, a buckler, a pistol, and a seal, which Admiral Coligni had given him to seal in his name the documents he might have to issue. He added, that of three hundred and fifty men with him, two hundred had retired during the night, and that the others, with himself,

[1] Barcia, Ensayo Cronolog., p. 88. [2] Ib., p. 89.

consented to surrender into his hands, and that he might send his boat to bring them over.[1] 1565.

Death of Ribaut.

The adelantado at once gave orders to his admiral, commanding him not to take more than ten Frenchmen at a time, and to tie them as they landed, as had been done the first time. Mr. de Ribaut and those who were with him were also bound; after which the adelantado asked them whether they were Catholics or Lutherans? Ribaut replied, in the name of all, that they belonged to the new reform, and began to recite the psalm, "*Domine memento mei.*"[2] Then he said: "We came from the dust, and to it we must all return; twenty years sooner or later is all one: do your will on me." The adelantado gave the signal to dispatch them, and was obeyed. Four Catholics were found in this party and spared.[3]

Menendez then returned to St. Augustine, where some taxed him with cruelty: the others not only approved his conduct, but added that the French should have been exterminated had they all been Catholics, inasmuch as so many prisoners would soon have caused a famine at St. Augustine, their supply of provisions being scanty; and, besides, outnumbering the Spaniards, they might easily take the fort and massacre the garrison in retaliation for what had been done at Caroline.

The third party.

About three weeks after this expedition, the adelantado was informed by the Indians, that a week's journey south of St. Augustine, southward, at the coast of Cañaveral, which lies on the Bahama Channel, there were some Frenchmen building a fort and a ship. He had no doubt but that these were the two hundred men who had left Mr. de Ribaut, and at once dispatched a courier to the governor of St. Matheo, with orders to send him one hundred and fifty men. This detachment reached St. Augustine on the

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[1] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 89.

[2] No psalm begins with these words.—*Charlevoix.*

[3] Barcia says four, besides the fifers, etc. Menendez, in his letter to the king, October 15, 1565, puts Ribaut's party at seventy, of whom he spared five. See Parkman's Pioneers, p. 130.

1565. 23d of October, under the command of Andrew Lopez Patiño and John Velez de Medrano. Menendez increased it by a like number of soldiers from his garrison, and on the 26th set out with this force, marching on foot, followed by the arms and provisions on two boats, which anchored every night opposite his camp.

Their surrender. On the 1st of November he discovered the French, who, surprised to see the Spaniards arrive, fled to a mountain. Menendez sent to tell them that they might come without fear, and that he not only gave them a pledge of life, but would treat them the same as his own soldiers. Most of them confided in his word, and he kept it to the letter; he employed them even in his subsequent expeditions, and gained several to the Catholic religion; but their commander and twenty others replied to his envoy, that they would rather be eaten by the savages than surrender to him. He despised their small number, and left them in peace. He set fire to the fort and ship, which were already considerably advanced, and returned to St. Augustine, well satisfied to be rid of so many Frenchmen, who might have given him a great deal of trouble[1] had Mr. de Ribaut[2] chosen to follow the advice of Mr. de Laudonniere, or if the storm which destroyed his ships had begun only two hours later.

It is quite useless for me to add any reflections of my own on the difference and the contradictions between the two accounts, which I have just given—my readers will make them as well as I can; but I cannot refrain from acknowledging much more probability in the latter than in the former, and I avow that I should hesitate to tax a man of honor with such black perfidy as is attributed to the governor of San Matheo, on the authority of a single man, who under the circumstances in which he was, ex-

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[1] A full account of this affair, by Doctor Solis de Meras, a brother-in-law of Menendez, is in Barcia, pp. 85–90.

[2] The highest eulogy on Ribaut is by Menendez. See Parkman's Pioneers, p. 132.

asperated by a long and harsh captivity, animated by the hatred which his religion inspired him against the Catholics, would not have been deemed in a court of justice a competent witness to condemn a private individual; and it is surprising that no one at the time thought to question a fact of this nature, supported solely by testimony open to such just suspicion. 1565.

Indifference of the court as to the affairs in Florida.

After all, the fact as the Spaniards themselves relate it was more than sufficient to arouse public indignation in France; nor was it, therefore, confined to those whose religious interest rendered them more sensible to the treatment inflicted on their fellow-believers in Florida. Nevertheless, the hatred entertained by the court against the Huguenots, and especially against Admiral Coligni, their leader, who was almost always in arms against his sovereign and against the religion of his ancestors, contributed greatly to the indifference which succeeded these first outbursts of humanity and patriotism. Hence, by a sad effect of the wretched condition in which France was, the king's subjects, who had just perished in Florida at the hands of the Spaniards, were regarded by most of those then in power, less as subjects, than as creatures of the most deadly enemy which religion and the prince then had. Moreover, the position of Charles IX. did not permit him to embroil himself with the Catholic king. The honor of the French would, therefore, have been unavenged, had not a private person undertaken to do it at his own risk and expense.

The early adventures of the Chevalier de Gourgues.

This zealous citizen was the Chevalier Dominic de Gourgues, a Gascon gentlemen, born at Mont de Marsan, in the countship of Comminges, of a family distinguished at all times by an unshaken attachment to the ancient faith.[1] He himself never left it, although the last Spanish historian of Florida accuses him of having been a terrible

[1] He was brother to the President of Guienne. Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 133; Parkman's Pioneers, p. 141.

1565. heretic—*herege terrible.* There were, at the time, few subaltern officers in France, and perhaps in all Europe, who had acquired a more brilliant reputation in war, or who had experienced more reverses of fortune. He had served quite young in Italy, and one day, when commanding a detachment of thirty men near Sienna, in Tuscany, he for a long time withstood all the efforts of a part of the Spanish army: at last, all his men having been slain around him, he was taken, sent to the galleys, and put in chains like a criminal. The bitterness with which the Spaniards then made war on France, made them forget their ancient generosity to the point of thus violating the laws of war, and punishing with a degrading slavery actions which, at the bottom of their hearts, they could not fail to admire.

The galley on which the Chevalier de Gourgues was rowing, was taken by the Turks on the coast of Sicily, carried to Rhodes, and thence to Constantinople; but having put to sea again, it was retaken by the galleys of Malta, and de Gourgues thus recovered his liberty. Returning to France, he conceived the idea of travelling by sea; he went first to Africa, then to Brazil, and thence, says Lescarbot,[1] to the Pacific; but this author, undoubtedly, takes the Pacific for the Indian Ocean, as it is certain that in the sixteenth century no Frenchman had yet been in the Pacific.[2]

He prepares to drive the Spaniards from Florida.

It is not stated how long the Chevalier de Gourgues spent in these voyages, nor what he did during them; but it is certain that he had only just arrived in France, with the name of being one of the ablest and boldest navigators of his age, when news was brought of the capture of Caroline by the Spaniards, and the massacre of the French. He was deeply moved, both for the honor of France, and

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[1] Lescarbot, Histoire de la Nouvelle France, p. 141.

[2] Basanier (Histoire Notable, p. 222) says he went towards the Pacific. De Thou (Hist. Univ.) treats de Gourgues' voyage at length.

the interest which, in his views, should be taken in such a fine country; moreover, he was burning with a desire to avenge his own wrongs. So many urgent motives made him form the design of chastising the usurpers of Florida, or dying in the attempt. 1567.

He leaves France.

To enable him to execute so bold a design, which seemed beyond the power of a private individual, he sold all his property, made heavy loans, and equipped two roberges, and a patache in the form of a felucca. These three boats could go by oars in a calm, and were of very light draught, so that it was easy for them to enter most of the rivers of Florida. Eighty picked sailors formed their crew; but they carried one hundred and fifty soldiers and volunteers, one hundred of whom were crossbowmen, and most of them gentlemen. The expedition was fitted out at Bordeaux; and sailing thence, August 2, 1567, was detained for eight days in succession at Royan by head winds, then forced by a violent storm to put into the Charente, where it remained till the twenty-second.[1]

It had provisions for a year, and the Chevalier de Gourgues was provided with a commission from Mr. de Montluc, lieutenant for the king in Guyenne; but it was not for Florida. It gave him power only to go to the coast of Benin, in Africa, and carry off negroes; for he had not as yet disclosed the real object of his expedition to any one.[2] Scarcely was he out at sea when he was surprised by a second storm, in which one of his ships disappeared. He had provided for this accident, and had given all his pilots a rendezvous at the mouth of the Rio del Oro, on the coast of Africa, and his ship really met

[1] La Reprinse de la Floride, par le Capitaine Gourgue, in Ternaux (pp. 301–10), says one hundred arquebusiers, and mentions crossbows as arms of the sailors. Basanier, p. 207, De Gourgues MS. A copy made by Vicomte de Gourgues, apparently from the manuscript referred to (post, p. 229), is in the possession of Hon. Geo. Bancroft. It makes only one hundred soldiers in all. Champlain (Voyages, ed. 1632, p. 21) gives him two hundred and fifty men, and makes him sail August 23.

[2] De Gourgues MS.; La Reprinse, p. 309; Basanier, Hist. Not., p. 207.

1567. him there. Thence he ranged the coast to Cape Blanco, where three petty negro princes came to attack him, instigated by the Portuguese. After defeating them twice, he held on the same route to Cape Verde, whence he turned direct to America.

He reaches the island of Cuba.

The first land that he made was Dominica, one of the Little Antilles. He next went to Porto Rico; then to Mona, the cacique of which gave him many fresh supplies. After this, wishing to make the mainland of Florida, a new storm drove him into the port of St. Nicholas, on the west side of St. Domingo. Here he caulked one of his vessels, which the storm had greatly shattered, causing the loss of a good part of his supply of sea-biscuit. To crown his troubles, the Spaniards refused to sell him meal; and he had only just left the port of St. Nicholas, when a furious storm driving him on the coast, put him in imminent danger of perishing.[1] At last, with great ado, he made Cape San Antonio, the western extremity of Cuba.

There assembling all his men, he began by depicting to them, in the most vivid colors, the cruelties perpetrated by the Spaniards on the French in Florida. "This, comrades, is the crime of our enemies. And what will ours be, if we defer longer to avenge the insult offered to the French nation? This induced me to sell all my property: this opened the purses of my friends. I have counted upon you: I have deemed you sufficiently jealous of the glory of your country to sacrifice life itself on an occasion of this importance. Am I deceived? I hope to set you an example; to be ever at your head; to take on myself the greatest dangers. Will you refuse to follow me?"[2]

The opening of this address excited some astonishment in the minds of many; but at last, the soldiers taking it

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[1] La Reprinse de la Floride, p. 311–8.

[2] The authorities give the substance of the speech. Champlain (Voyages, 1632, pp. 22, 23) gives it as a speech, though Charlevoix does not seem to quote the speech from him verbally.

up with loud cries of joy, all protested that they were ready to go wherever he chose to lead them. De Gourgues would fain have profited by this ardor, and set sail at once; but he deemed it wiser to wait for the full moon, to pass the Bahama Channel. He passed it at last, and soon descried the land of Florida. So far were the Spaniards from imagining that there was any idea in France of reconquering the country, that, on perceiving the three ships, they took them for Spanish vessels, and as such saluted them with two cannon, when they saw them pass May River.[1] The Chevalier de Gourgues answered them, gun for gun; then pushed on, and standing somewhat out at sea, on the next night entered the Seine River,[2] fifteen leagues distant from May River.

1568.

He reaches Florida.

He there found a number of Indians, who, taking him for a Spaniard, prepared to oppose his landing; but he sent them his trumpeter, who had served under Mr. de Laudonniere in Florida, and was well acquainted with the language of the country. This man recognized Saturiova, who happened to be with the paraousti of the place, and addressing him, told him that the French came to renew the alliance which they had had with him the preceding years; and the manner in which his compliment was received gave him room to judge that these tribes were not pleased with the Spaniards.

In what disposition he finds the Indians.

The next day, Saturiova, followed by a great number of Indians, approached the place where the French had landed, and asked that their general should meet him. Mr. de Gourgues went with his interpreter, who had scarcely begun to speak, when the paraousti, interrupting

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[1] De Gourgues MS. La Reprinse de la Floride, p. 321; Basanier, p. 208.

[2] A manuscript account of this expedition, preserved in the Royal Library, calls the river Tacatacourou, and says that the king of the people of that district bore the same name. —*Charlevoix.* This manuscript is the Reprinse de la Floride printed in Ternaux, and previously in the Revue Retrospective. Basanier (p. 208) says the same. The name occurs in Barcia, pp. 121, 141.

1568. him, declared, with great vivacity, that he was resolved to suffer no more Spaniards in his territories, pretending to have strong grounds of complaint against them. He added, that the French would, no doubt, join him to avenge their common wrongs, and that, on his side, he would be wanting in nothing to assure his vengeance.

League concluded between them and the French.

De Gourgues replied that he had not come with this view, but solely to renew the former alliance of the French with the Floridians, and after ascertaining their dispositions towards the Spaniards, to return to France for a larger force. "Still," he added, "as I see you in a temper to second me, and impatient to be rid of your troublesome neighbors, I change my mind, and am determined, this moment, to attack the Spaniards with this handful of soldiers that I have in my ships, convinced that you will join me, and promising myself every thing from your fidelity and valor."[1]

Saturiova was charmed with this speech, and the league was soon struck. Presents were exchanged; but the paraousti made a most acceptable one to the Chevalier de Gourgues. He brought to him a young man named Pierre de Bray, whom he had kept with him, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Spaniards to obtain him, and whom he had always treated as a son.[2] On the following day, all the paraoustis, vassals, or allies of Saturiova, assembled to deliberate on the manner of attacking the Spaniards; and it was concerted that d'Estampe, a gentleman of Comminge, and Olocotora, a nephew of Saturiova, should go with Pierre de Bray to reconnoitre the state of affairs at San Matheo.[3]

But the general, before trusting Mr. d'Estampe to these savages, wished hostages; and Saturiova gave him one of

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[1] La Reprinse de la Floride, pp. 321–8; Basanier, p. 209.

[2] Debré. Gourgues MS; Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 134; La Reprinse, p. 332.

[3] La Reprinse de la Floride (pp. 332, 333) and the MS. give the name, Olotoraca; Basanier, Olotocara. The first part corresponds to Holata, chief.

his sons and his most beloved wife. At the end of three days, the scouts returned, announcing that the enemy were not at all on their guard; but that San Matheo, and two small forts which they had added on either side of the river, were in very good condition. De Bray at the same time declared that the garrison of these three forts was four hundred men. This report showed de Gourgues that he could hope for success in the attempt only by surprise and secrecy; and having appointed the Somme River,[1] for a general rendezvous of all the forces, they were all there at the day prescribed. 1568. Preparation for the attack.

The Indians, after drinking their apalachine,[2] according to their custom, swore in their manner not to abandon the French, and they at once marched. They endured much, for it was the rainy season; and although they made only two leagues the first day, the French were extremely fatigued. There were still two leagues to make to reach the first of the two forts covering San Matheo, and the Chevalier de Gourgues had taken nothing all day: yet as all depended on diligence, he took with him a guide and ten arquebusiers, and started to reconnoitre the fort, which he was resolved to attack the next morning; but a small river, which it was necessary to cross, was so swollen by the rains and by the tide, which was still rising, that it was impossible for him to advance any further.

He accordingly returned to the camp quite dejected; but an Indian[3] having promised to lead him by an easier path, he again set out with all the French, ordering the Indians to strike through the woods, and meet him at daybreak at the passage of the river. This order was punctually executed; but the river was not yet fordable in any place, and so heavy a rain came on, that they had great They march on the first fort.

[1] The manuscript already cited calls it *Saraba.—Charlevoix.* Ternaux prints, Halimacani (p. 336). The Sarabay was a river further on (p. 339).

[2] See p. 139. This is the "black drink" of the Creeks. See Parkman's Pioneers, p. 149.

[3] Hilicopile, an Indian king. La Reprinse, p. 340; Basanier, p. 212.

1568. difficulty in protecting their arms. The weather cleared at last; and Mr. de Gourgues, by the favor of a little grove, reconnoitred the fort at his leisure. He perceived them to be all in motion, and had no doubt but that he was discovered; but he was mistaken, learning subsequently that they were repairing a cistern.

About ten o'clock, the tide being at its lowest, they crossed, though not without difficulty; for besides the water being waist-high, the bottom was covered with large sharp oysters, which cut the shoes and even the feet of the soldiers. The Indians, though barefooted, knew how to avoid them; and there were very few at this passage, most of them having crossed the river at its mouth in periaguas.[1]

The Spaniards were still unaware of the presence of the French in Florida; and nothing convinced the Chevalier de Gourgues more of the hatred of the natives for their new neighbors, than the secrecy observed on this occasion. At last, all the troops having crossed, and being full of ardor to come to action, the general thought the time too precious to waste in speeches. He contented himself with showing his soldiers in a few words the justice of their cause, which the Almighty himself would not fail to favor; and he sounded the charge. He had divided his little troop into two bands: giving the command of one to the Sieur de Casenove, his lieutenant, he put himself at the head of the rest, and advanced slowly in order of battle.[2]

Its capture. Exploit of an Indian.

The moment they passed the wood which covered it, the Spaniards fired two culverins at him, that Mr. de Laudonniere had left in Caroline. The first time, they fired too far; but they were reloading, and the front ranks were beginning to waver, when the brave Olocotora, who never left the general, glided unperceived to the foot of the platform where the two culverins were planted, leaped upon it, and drove a pike which he bore through the gunner's body.

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[1] Basanier, Histoire Notable, p. 213. de la Floride, pp. 344, 345; Basanier,
[2] De Gourgues MS.; La Reprinse p. 213.

The boldness of this Indian made the Spaniards believe him not alone, or rather deprived them of all sense. A panic seized them; they rushed out of the fort, and began to run in confusion in the direction of where Casenove was. The latter by cries warned de Gourgues, who pushed forward; and inclosing the enemy between himself and his lieutenant, fell on them so furiously, that out of sixty that they were, there remained, after the first rush, only a few who were taken and reserved for a less glorious end.[1] 1568.

The second fort is abandoned at the approach of the Indians.

Meanwhile, the cannon of the second fort kept playing incessantly, and galled our men. To silence their fire, the general planted on the bank of the river the two culverins[2] and two other pieces of artillery found in the first fort. This had its effect. He then, with eighty men, crossed in a bark which he had ordered up for the purpose, and he had promised the Indians to send it back for them as soon as he landed; but they had not the patience to wait for him, and swam over, yelling fearfully. The Spaniards were terrified; and not considering themselves safe in their intrenchments, fled to the woods, where Mr. de Gourgues, who was in ambush, surrounded and cut them to pieces. Of sixty that they numbered, he spared only fifteen, whom he kept as prisoners. He then entered the fort, which he found untenanted. He demolished it, and put the provisions and arms in the former, which he made his stronghold. All this happened on the eve of Low Sunday.[3]

Caroline still had a garrison of over two hundred men; but the consternation there was great. The Chevalier de Gourgues had among his prisoners an old sergeant, from

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[1] La Reprinse de la Floride, p. 346; Basanier, pp. 213, 214.

[2] The manuscript Relation, preserved in the family of Messrs. de Gourgues, speaks only of one culverin with the arms of France and the name of Henry II., and of three pieces of cannon.—*Charlevoix.* The Reprinse de la Floride (p. 346) says the same. Basanier (p. 212) does not specify, but says, four cannon.

[3] La Reprinse de la Floride, p. 349; Basanier, Histoire Notable, p. 218.

1568. whom by menaces he drew an account and plan of the fort. Having examined it carefully, he was convinced that an escalade was the surest means of carrying it, and he resolved to attempt it. He spent Sunday and Monday in preparation;[1] and meanwhile so many Indians gathered, that as they filled all the ground around Caroline, it was impossible for the Spaniards to get out to reconnoitre the force of their assailants. One made the attempt, disguised as an Indian; but Olocotora detecting him, brought him to the general. This man declared that he was one of the garrison of the second[2] fort, and that he had disguised himself to escape more readily, expecting no quarter if he fell into the hands of the Indians; that it was his intention to throw himself into the hands of the French, believing his life secure when he was the prisoner of a nation renowned throughout the world for its humanity. Unfortunately for him, the sergeant already mentioned unwittingly betrayed him, declaring that he belonged to the garrison of San Matheo; on which he was placed with those reserved for punishment. It was ascertained from this spy, that what took all courage from the garrison of San Matheo was the conviction that the French were at least two thousand strong; and de Gourgues thought it unwise to give them time to learn their error or recover from their fright.[3]

He marches on the fort.

He accordingly prepared with all diligence to begin the attack at daybreak on Tuesday. He sent the Sieur de Mesmes, his ensign, with twenty[4] arquebusiers, to guard the mouth of the river; he sent the Indians to lie in ambush in the woods on both sides of the river; finally, he himself marched before dawn, taking the sergeant and the spy as guides. Olocotora was with him; and this Indian had taken it into his head that he would never return from this expedition, basing his presentiment ap-

[1] La Reprinse de la Floride, p. 349.
[2] Basanier, Histoire Notable, p. 215. The La Reprinse de la Floride, p. 250, says (he was of the) first fort.
[3] La Reprinse, p. 350.
[4] Fifteen. La Reprinse, p. 351.

parently on a dream. He mentioned it to de Gourgues. 1568.
"I know, captain," said he, "that I shall be killed in the attack on the fort; yet I will not leave you. I hold my life as nothing. I shall, at least, have the consolation of dying as a brave. But I beg you to give my wife my share of the booty, to put with my body in the tomb, that I may be better received in the spirit-land."

Mr. de Gourgues replied that he hoped to restore him, safe and sound, to his family; but that, alive or dead, his memory should be ever dear to him, and that he would show in every way how much he owed to his zeal and valor. They marched openly along the river; but as they were annoyed by the fire of two culverins, planted on a kind of bulwark commanding the bank, they sheltered themselves behind the hill, at the foot of which, as we have seen, the fort stood. The general thus had an opportunity to examine the place well; and with the help of his two prisoners, he ascertained to a certainty its strong and weak points. He saw, in a word, that he must attack from the hill-side, as the Spaniards did two years before.

Capture of San Matheo.

It was somewhat late when every man got to his post, and the chevalier wished to defer the attack till morning; but the besieged having made a sortie with eighty[1] arquebusiers, hastened their ruin. Casenove was detached against them, with twenty cuirassiers, to draw them on; while the general cut off their retreat, and fell on them with a superior force. The Spaniards, who kept advancing, were much astonished to find themselves between two fires; yet they fought nobly, and were slain almost to a man. The garrison, witnessing this defeat, absolutely lost heart; and all, without awaiting orders, fled into the woods, where the Indians, who awaited them, gave quarter to none. Some turned in the other direction; but there they met Mr. de Gourgues, who brought down most of

[1] La Reprinse de la Floride (p. 353) says, sixty. It was always sixty Spaniards that they had to fight in each of the three engagements.

1568. them, and had no small difficulty in saving the rest from the hands of the Indians, to hand them over to the executioners.[1]

Booty taken there.

San Matheo being now without defenders, the general entered with all his troops, who took a considerable booty. There were in it, five double culverins; four medium-sized and some small iron and brass cannon; eighteen barrels of powder; and a very large stock of arms of all kinds, which were conveyed to the bark used for transporting the troops. The powder was, however, lost by one of those accidents which it is difficult to avoid. An Indian, cooking a fish quite far from the magazine, let some fire fall on a train of powder which had not been perceived, and by means of which the Spaniards intended to blow up the French, in case they forced the breach. Fortunately, no one was near enough to be injured, although the magazine blew up.

The general gave his men and the Indians their time to pillage; and also made liberal presents to the latter, who seemed much more charmed with his manners than his gifts. He then had all his prisoners brought to the same spot where the French had been massacred, and where Menendez had engraved on a stone these words: "I do not do this as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans." He reproached them with their cruelty, their perfidy, their violation of oaths;[2] then hung them all on a tree: and instead of the former inscription, put on a pine board: "I do not do this as to Spaniards, nor as to maranes;[3] but as to traitors, robbers, and murderers."[4]

Reflection on this conduct.

Some historians seem to approve this conduct as just and legitimate; and it would, indeed, have some show of justice, especially supposing that the Spaniards had, as all then supposed, violated their oath. But apart from the

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[1] La Reprinse de la Floride, p. 355; Basanier, p. 217.

[2] The reader must remember the account of the sailor, whose fidelity was not then disputed.—*Charlevoix.*

[3] A nickname for Spaniards.

[4] La Reprinse de la Floride, pp. 356–9; Basan., p. 218; Gourgues MS.

fact that reprisals are rarely exempt from injustice, inasmuch as they more generally fall on the innocent than on the guilty, I do not hesitate to say, that the expedition of the Chevalier de Gourgues, hitherto so glorious for himself and honorable for his nation, would have been infinitely exalted by so acting, that his moderation and French generosity formed a noble contrast to the inhumanity of the Spaniards, rather than by closing it with the same fury that he detested in them. Is it not shameful for Christians not to have thought as an idolatrous prince once did on a similar occasion?[1] 1568.

Florida evacuated by the French.

Moreover, the applause bestowed everywhere on this gentleman, and which it was impossible to refuse to an achievement which may be reckoned among the most memorable of the kind ever accomplished in war, were all the fruits of victory left to him. He had not force enough to make good his hold in Florida against the Spaniards of St. Augustine. He could not expect to receive, at least for some years, any aid from France; and he was aware that the interested aid of the Indians would last only as long as he was in a condition to show them favors and protect them from the vengeance of a nation against whom they had just declared themselves so strongly. Yet he was apparently ignorant that the Spaniards were so near him; and I find that our writers of that time suppose that Dolphin River was not inhabited under the name of St. Augustine till some years later.

But the Chevalier de Gourgues had only what provisions he needed to return to France; and it was solely this last consideration that induced him to raze the three forts which he had just captured. He sent all the artillery of

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[1] After the defeat of Mardonius, one of the generals of Xerxes, some having proposed to Pausanias, king of Sparta, to treat the dead body of that satrap as Xerxes had treated Leonidas, killed at the battle of Thermopylæ, whom that prince had hung on a gibbet: "Little dost thou know glory," replied Pausanias, "if thou thinkest that I can acquire much by imitating barbarians."—*Charlevoix.*

1568. those three works by sea to his ships, which he had left in the Seine, and marched there, with all his force, by land, after taking leave of the Indians, who seemed to witness his departure with regret, but whom he endeavored to console with hopes of his return. All of them whom he met on his way gave him the strongest marks of friendship and esteem. Several paraoustis, among whom Saturiova distinguished himself the most, swore an inviolable attachment to him; and the brave Olocotora, whose presentiments were not fulfilled, never left him while he was in Florida, and burst into tears on bidding him a last farewell.[1]

The Chevalier de Gourgues arrives in France.

1568. On the 3d of May the three ships set sail, and on Whitsunday, the 6th of June, the Chevalier de Gourgues anchored in the port of Rochelle, after experiencing violent storms and suffering greatly from hunger, his provisions having been spoiled.[2] He even lost his tender, with eight men; and one of his ships, which got separated from the rest off Bermuda, did not arrive till a month later. His expedition had cost him only some soldiers, and five gentlemen, whom he greatly regretted. One was of Saintonge, by name Pons; the four others—Anthony de Limosny, Bierre, Carreau, and Gachie—were Gascons. But he had well-nigh found in the port something more disagreeable than the shipwreck which he had just avoided.[3]

He narrowly escapes being carried off by the Spaniards.

It is not easy to see how the tidings of his enterprise (of which, he supposed, he bore the first news to France) had already reached the court of Spain; yet he had scarcely left Rochelle for Bordeaux, when nineteen Spanish cutters, with another vessel of two hundred tons, entered the roadstead which he had just left, in order to carry him off; and they, in fact, pursued him as far as

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[1] La Reprinse de la Floride, p. 361; Basanier, Histoire Notable, pp. 219, 220.

[2] La Reprinse de la Floride, p. 364; Basanier, Histoire Notable, p. 220.

[3] La Reprinse de la Floride, p. 364.

Blaye. His stay at Bordeaux did not exceed that at Rochelle. He repaired first to Mr. de Montluc, under whom he had served in Tuscany, and who praised him highly. By this general's advice he went to the court; but he was ill received there. He was even advised privately to withdraw, unless he wished to be sacrificed to the resentment of the Catholic king, who loudly demanded his head, for which he offered a reward, and whom the French king then humored greatly, as he expected aid from him against the rebels. 1568.

He is obliged to disappear.

In fact, the queen-mother and the faction of the princes of Lorraine declared against him; and it was proposed to bring him to trial for undertaking the expedition without orders. He was for a long time concealed at Rouen by President de Marigny; and as he was far from having brought back enough from Florida to discharge the debts which he had contracted to enable him to expel the Spaniards, he would have had great difficulty in finding means of subsistence, but for the aid given him by that magistrate and some of his old friends. Queen Elizabeth, then reigning in England, soon after made him very advantageous offers, if he would enter her service; but his royal master, who had really been charmed with his exploit, having publicly restored him to favor, de Gourgues thanked the English queen.

His death.

At last Don Antonio offered him the command of the fleet which he was fitting out to support his right to the crown of Portugal, which Philip II. had seized. He joyfully embraced so fine an opportunity of again making war on the Spaniards; but having set out to meet the Portuguese prince, he fell sick at Tours and died there,[1]

[1] Basanier, Histoire Notable, p. 222, gives the date as 1582—that is, four years before the appearance of his work, and fourteen after the Florida voyage, a much longer period than the text would lead one to infer. Chauveton's edition of Benzoni, though published in 1579, and consequently a year after de Gourgues' death, does not allude to his expedition at all—a somewhat remarkable omission.

1568. universally regretted—leaving a reputation as one of the bravest and ablest captains of his time, as capable of commanding a fleet as an army. Worthy, undoubtedly, of the greatest eulogiums, had he not listened to resentment for his private wrongs in the most brilliant action of his life; had he had no other motive than zeal for the honor of the French name.[1]

[1] Basanier, Histoire Notable, pp. 222, 223. Barcia, in the Ensayo Cronologico, simply embodies the French account, and gives no contemporary Spanish matter. Indeed, there seems to be none; the most pertinacious research of Buckingham Smith in the Spanish archives relating to Florida, at the time, failed to discover the slightest allusion to any such capture of San Mateo and two adjacent forts. Parkman admits that there is a savor of romance in the French account. New light may be hereafter thrown on the matter, and reduce de Gourgues' expedition to a mere slaving and piratical cruise, such as was common at the day and not deemed disgraceful. This may hereafter lead to some doubts as to the exploit of de Gourgues.

BOOK III.

BOOK III.

ALTHOUGH, by evacuating Florida after de Gourgues' successful expedition, France seemed to renounce all settling on the mainland of America, the Normans, Basques, and Bretons still continued to take the whale and cod on the Great Bank and along the shores of Newfoundland, on all the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the great river that empties into it. Some even gradually opened a traffic with the natives of the country; and the fur-trade began to become an object which the love of novelty, and the ease with which the commerce was conducted, made more attractive than the fisheries, transforming many of our sailors into merchants. 1598.

Attempts of the Marquis de la Roche in Canada.

At last, in 1598, France, after fifty years of domestic trouble, having recovered her pristine tranquillity by the valor, activity, and clemency of Henry IV., and finding herself equal to any enterprise under the ablest of her kings, the taste for colonizing again sprang up, and the Marquis de la Roche, a Breton gentleman, obtained from his majesty the same commission and the same powers enjoyed by Mr. de Roberval under Francis I., and already granted to himself by Henry III., but which he had not been in a position to exercise. His letters patent, dated January 12, 1598,[1] state that conformably to the will of the

[1] Mr. de la Roche is there styled: Troilus de Mesgouet, Chevalier of our Order, Councillor in our Council of State, captain of fifty men-at-arms of our ordnance, Marquis de Cotenmeal, Baron de Las, Viscount of Carentan and St. Lo in Normandy, Viscount of Trevallot, Sieur de la Roche, Gommard and Quermoulec, of Gornal, Bonteguiño, and Liscuit. —*Charlevoix.* Lescarbot (ed. 1618), p. 409. Memoir. des Comm., ii. 436.

1598. late king, Henry III., his majesty has created him his lieutenant-general in the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, Newfoundland, Labrador, River of the Great Bay,[1] Norimbegue and adjacent lands,[2] on the following conditions.

His commission.

That he shall especially keep in view the establishment of the Catholic faith; that his authority shall extend over all military and naval forces; that he shall choose the captains, masters of ships, and pilots; that he shall have power to command them in whatever he sees fit, without their having the right to disobey him under any pretext; that he shall have power to dispose of the ships and crews that he shall find in the ports of France ready to sail; to raise as many troops as he will, make war, build forts and towns, give laws, punish the violation thereof, or pardon; grant lands to gentlemen as fiefs, seigneuries, castelries, counties, viscounties, baronies, and other dignities depending on the king, as he shall deem advantageous to the service, and to other people of lower rank, at such annual rents and charges as he shall see fit to impose—but from which they shall be exempt the first six years, and more if he deems it necessary; that on returning from his expedition, he shall have power to divide among those who make the voyage with him, the third of all the movable gains and profits, retain another for himself, and apply the third to the expenses of war, fortification, and other common charges; that all the gentlemen, merchants, and others, who wish to accompany him at their own expense or otherwise, shall be allowed to do so with all freedom, but not to trade without his license—and that under pain of confiscation of their ships, merchandise, and other effects; that in case of sickness or death, he shall have power, by will or otherwise, to appoint one or two lieutenants in his stead; that he shall have power to raise mechanics and others necessary for the success of

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[1] The St. Lawrence was then called by this name.—*Charlevoix.*

[2] This will cover Maine and Nova Scotia.

his enterprise in all parts of the kingdom; in a word, that he shall enjoy the same rights, privileges, power, and authority as were conferred on the Sieur de Roberval by King Francis I.[1] 1598.

Failure of his enterprize.

The Marquis de la Roche, invested with a commission which enabled him to undertake any thing, wished to examine the country in person. He fitted out a vessel the same year, and embarked with Chedotel, a skilful Norman pilot. The first land that he made was Sable Island, about twenty-five leagues southeast of Cape Breton,[2] and asserted to be the spot where the Baron de Lery in 1508 had wished to plant a colony.[3] His choice was a most wretched one. Sable Island with difficulty produces a few shrubs and grass, no land being less adapted for the habitation of man. It is, moreover, very small, and has no harbor. This island lies at 44° 12′ N. The variation observed there is 13° N. E. It is very narrow, and is shaped like a bow. In the middle of the island is a lake about five leagues in circumference, that of the island being ten or thereabouts. Its two extremities are reefs of sand, one running N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. and the other southeast. It is thirty-five leagues north and south of Camceaux, and has sand-mountains discernible seven or eight leagues off. Here Mr. de la Roche landed forty wretched men, whom he had drawn from the prisons in France, and who soon found themselves more badly situated than in their dungeons.[4]

Description of Sable Island.

He then went to explore the shores of the nearest mainland, which is Acadia; and after obtaining all such information as he thought he needed, he hoisted sail for France. It was his intention to sail back by the way of

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[1] See his Commission in Lescarbot (ed. 1609), p. 434; ed. 1611, p. 422.

[2] Champlain (ed. 1632), p. 32.

[3] Lescarbot, Histoire de la Nouvelle France (ed. 1618), p. 21. He is there styled, Le Sieur Baron de Leri et de St. Just, Vicomte de Guen. See also Bergéron, Traité de la Navigation, ch. xx. Charlevoix (p. 28) omits de Leri's attempt, unless we are to infer that Aubert sailed under his orders. Memoires des Commissaires, i. 28.

[4] Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1613), p. 4; ed. 1632, p. 32; Lescarbot (ed. 1618), pp. 21, 406, 407.

1598. Sable Island, and take on board those whom he had left there; but head winds prevented his landing. Various mischances detained him in France the succeeding years, and prevented his following the enterprise. He was for more than a year prisoner in the hands of the Duke de Mercœur, who was then master in Brittany;[1] and personages of rank, to whom his zeal for the Catholic religion was distasteful, found means to prevent the effects of the king's good-will towards him. The result was, that as he had expended large amounts which had yielded no return, he was no longer in a position to continue them; and it is asserted that he died of chagrin in consequence.[2]

His error.

The fault which he committed was not settling in Acadia, where a single sedentary fishery, which would not have cost him a great deal, would have produced sure and speedy returns. The forty poor wretches whom he left on Sable Island found on the seashore some wrecks of vessels, out of which they built barracks to shield themselves from the severity of the weather. They were the remains of Spanish vessels, which had sailed to settle Cape Breton. From these same ships had come some sheep and cattle, which had multiplied on Sable Island; and this was for some time a resource for these poor exiles. Fish was their next food; and when their clothes

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[1] Mr. Pol de Courcy, in the Biographie Generale des Hommes Illustres de la Bretagne, shows that this is an error, as Mercœur was not governor of Brittany in 1598. If arrested, it was in 1588; and the voyage to America must have been, he thinks, in 1578, in which year he obtained of Henry III. a commission to explore, and letters patent as governor, lieutenant-general, and viceroy. Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, i. pp. 58–60; Documents de la Société Historique de Montréal, i. p. 100. Garneau, in his able history of Canada (i. p. 34, n.), does not find the arguments of Mr. de Courcy conclusive; and Mr. Faillon does not allude to Mr. de Courcy in his recent work. The patent to the marquis was issued January 12, 1598; but as Mercœur surrendered to the king within two months of that time—the edict of Henry IV., reciting his surrender, bearing date March 26, 1598 (Memoires de la Ligue, Paris, 1599, vi., pp. 625–40) – de la Roche could not have sailed to America, returned, and fallen into Mercœur's hands in 1598.

[2] Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1632), p. 33.

were worn out, they made new ones of seal-skin.[1] At last, after a lapse of seven years, the king having heard of their adventure, obliged Chedotel, the pilot, to go for them; but he found only twelve, the rest having died of their hardships.[2] His majesty desired to see those who returned, in the same guise as found by Chedotel,—covered with seal-skin, with hair and beard of a length and disorder that made them resemble the pretended river-gods, and so disfigured as to inspire horror. The king gave them fifty crowns apiece, and sent them home released from all process of law.[3] 1598.

The failure of the attempt of the Marquis de la Roche did not prevent others from soliciting, on his death, a grant of the commission which he had obtained from the king. The Sieur de Pontgravé, an able navigator and one of the chief merchants of St. Malo, had made several voyages to Tadoussac, and saw that the fur-trade, if confined to a single hand, might become the foundation of a great trade. He proposed to Mr. Chauvin, captain of a ship, to ask of the king the exclusive privilege with all the prerogatives attached to the commission of the Marquis de la Roche. Mr. Chauvin relished the proposal, employed his friends at court, and obtained his wish. He immediately equipped some vessels of light draught, and sailed to Tadoussac with them.[4] 1600–2. Voyage of Mr. Chauvin.

Pontgravé, who sailed with them, wished to run up to Three Rivers, because that spot, which he had carefully examined, seemed to him better fitted than any other for a settlement:[5] but it was not in Mr. Chauvin's plan to make any; still less to carry out the article in his commission in regard to the Catholic religion, being himself a His errors.

[1] In 1580, Sir Humphrey Gilbert perished from trying to get cattle off Sable Island, where he had heard that they had been left by Portuguese, thirty years before.

[2] Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1613), p. 7; ed. 1632, pp. 32, 33. Lescarbot attributes the cattle to Baron de Leri, as to whom Champlain is silent.

[3] Champlain, Voy. (ed. 1632), p. 33.

[4] Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1613), p. 4. He says Chauvin sailed in 1599 (ed. 1632), p. 34.

[5] Champlain, Voy. (ed. 1632), p. 36.

1601–2. Calvinist. He wished merely to barter merchandise for furs, with which he soon filled his vessels. He left some of his people, however, at Tadoussac, who would have perished of hunger or disease during the winter, but for the compassion of the Indians.[1] He returned early the next year to his trade, and his second voyage was no less profitable than the former. He was preparing for a third, when death put an end to his projects.[2]

1603. Enterprise of the Commander de Chatte.

The Commander de Chatte, governor of Dieppe, succeeded him, formed a company of Rouen merchants, with whom several persons of rank entered in partnership, and fitted out an expedition, which he confided to the direction of Pontgravé, to whom the king had given letters patent to continue discoveries in the River of Canada, and to make settlements there. At the same time Samuel de Champlain, a gentleman of Saintonge, a sea-captain, reputed a brave, able, and experienced officer, arrived from the West Indies, where he had spent two years and a half.[3] Commander de Chatte proposed a voyage to Canada to him, and he consented, with the king's approval.

Champlain's first voyage.

He set out with Pontgravé in 1603.[4] They made but a short stay at Tadoussac, where they left their vessels, and taking a light boat, with five sailors, they ascended the river to Sault St. Louis;[5] that is to say, as far as Jacques Cartier had gone; but it seems that the town of Hochelaga no longer existed, or was reduced to insignificance,

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[1] Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1632), p. 36, describes the house erected by Chauvin, in which he left sixteen men. On the plan of the mouth of the Saguenay (ed. 1613, p. 172), he shows the position of the house, which he himself had seen.

[2] Champlain (ed. 1632), p. 37.

[3] This voyage of Champlain, the earliest of his that we know, was made in the Spanish service, his uncle ranking high in the Spanish navy. His original manuscript, Bref Discours des choses plus Remarquables que Samuel Champlain de Brouage a recogneues aux Indes Occidentales, is preserved at Dieppe, and probably came from Commander de Chaste. The original has never been published, but a somewhat hasty translation was given by the Hakluyt Society, in 1859.

[4] Champlain, des Sauvages, 1603, pp. 5–62, Quebec edition; edition 1632, p. 40.

[5] Champlain, des Sauvages, p. 37.

inasmuch as Mr. de Champlain, whose memoirs are very circumstantial, does not say a single word about it.[1] On their return to France, they found the Commander de Chatte dead,[2] and his commission given to Peter du Guast, Sieur de Monts of Saintonge, Gentleman in Ordinary of the Chamber, and Governor of Pons, who had also obtained the exclusive trade in furs, from the fortieth to the fifty-fourth degree of north latitude; the right to grant lands to the forty-sixth; and letters patent of vice-admiral and lieutenant-general in all that extent of country.[3] 1603.

Mr. de Monts in Acadia.

Mr. de Monts was a Calvinist, and the king had permitted him and his the free exercise of his religion in America, as it was practised in the kingdom. On his side, he undertook to settle the country, and establish the Catholic religion among the Indians there. He was, moreover, a very honest man, whose views were upright, who was zealous for his country, and had all the ability requisite for success in the enterprise on which he had embarked; but he was unfortunate, and almost always ill-served. His exclusive privilege for the fur-trade raised up rivals, who succeeded in ruining him. He had maintained the company formed by his predecessor, and he even increased it by several merchants from the chief ports of France, especially Rochelle. So much force combined enabled him to make a more considerable outfit than any of those whom he succeeded, and it was made partly at Dieppe and partly at Havre de Grace.

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[1] Champlain, des Sauvages, p. 37. In this voyage he seems to have heard of Niagara, of the Hurons or good Iroquois, and both heard of and seen Lake Superior copper: p. 46. He reached Havre de Grace September 20, 1603, with several Indians, including an Iroquois woman rescued from the stake, p. 62.

[2] Eymard de Chaste, Knight of Malta, Commander of Lormetau, Grandmaster of the Order of St. Lazarus, and Governor of Dieppe. Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie Française en Canada, i. p. 75. He died May 13, 1603. Cape Chat, on the St. Lawrence River, derived its name from him.

[3] Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1613), p. 4. See Commission in Lescarbot (ed. 1618), p. 417. Mem. des Comm, ii. 441.

1603. It consisted of four ships; one intended for the fur-trade at Tadoussac. Pontgravé received orders to take the second at Camceaux, thence to run the whole channel formed by Cape Breton and Isle St. Jean, to drive off all who should attempt to trade with the Indians to the prejudice of the rights of Mr. de Monts, who took the remaining two ships to Acadia. He was accompanied by several volunteers, by the Sieur de Champlain, and by another gentleman, John de Biencourt, Sieur de Poutrincourt, whom he subsequently made his lieutenant.[1] But before entering on the narrative of what occurred during this expedition, I think it well to give a clear idea of Acadia, of which I shall have frequent occasion to speak in the course of this work, and which has often been confounded with the neighboring provinces.

Description of this country. Acadia, according to all the authors who speak accurately, is a peninsula of triangular form, which bounds America on the southeast. John de Laet says so expressly in his Description of the West Indies.[2] All the historians and geographers use the same language, if we except Messieurs de Champlain and Denys, who give Acadia much more contracted limits. The former, in the eighth chapter of his voyages, gives the name of Acadia only to the south side of the peninsula;[3] and Mr. Denys, who resided long in that country, who has given us a very exact description of it, who owed as his own and governed the eastern coasts in the name of the king, is of the same opinion.

The latter divides all the eastern and southern part of Canada into four provinces, which, in his time, had as

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[1] Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1632), pp. 43, 44; Lescarbot, book iii. ch. 2.

[2] Cadia, pars Continentis, triangularis est formæ . . . qui duo sinus exiguo terræ spacio disiuncti, hanc provinciam pene insulam efficiunt. De Laet, Novus Orbis, p. 50. Champlain, in his first work, always writes, Arcadie. The word is derived from the Algonquin Aquoddiauke, a pollock. Hist. Mag., i. 84.

[3] Le dit Sieur du Pont avec la commission du dit Sieur de Monts va à Cansseau et le long de la coste (vers l'isle) du Cap Breton. Le Sieur de Monts prend sa routte plus à val, vers les costes de l'Acadie. Champlain (ed. 1632), p. 43.—*Charlevoix.*

many proprietors, lieutenants-general for the king. The first, from Pentagoët to the St. John's River, he calls the province of the Etechemins, and it was previously styled Norimbegua; the second, from St. John's River to Cape Sable, he styles French Bay; the third, according to him, is Acadia, from Cape Sable to Camceaux; and this was first styled by the English, Nova Scotia, on an occasion soon to be mentioned. The fourth, which was his domain and government, from Camceaux to Cap des Rosiers, he calls Bay of St. Lawrence; others have styled it Gaspesie.[1] 1603. Description of Acadia.

Would it not seem that this manner of thinking of our two oldest authors on Acadia was kept in view, when it is declared in the treaty of Utrecht that the Most Christian king ceded to the Queen of England and her successors forever, "Acadia, or Nova Scotia, according to its ancient limits, and also the city of Port Royal, or Annapolis Royal, with its jurisdiction?" for, as this treaty adds Port Royal to Acadia, or Nova Scotia, it would apparently follow that it did not include all the peninsula under the proper name of Acadia, or Nova Scotia.[2]

I am aware that in several treaties made between the two crowns, we find the name Nova Scotia applied sometimes to the peninsula, excluding the southern coast of Canada, and sometimes to that coast, excluding the peninsula; but they can prove by no memoir worthy of credit that both ever bore it at the same time. Moreover, these changes of name are recent; and the point between the English and ourselves is the ancient limits of Acadia, or Nova Scotia.

So true is it, that even in England the name of Nova Scotia is given only to the peninsula, that William Alexander, Earl of Sterling, having obtained from King James I. all that had been wrested from France in that part of Canada, during the reign of that prince, divides that concession into two provinces, calling the peninsula Nova

[1] Denys, i. 56, 126. Memoires des Commissaires, ii. 503.

[2] Memoires des Commissaires, i. lxvii.

1603. Scotia, and giving the rest the name of New Alexandria. This may be seen in de Laet, who cites the patent at the place already cited.[1] Several years after, Charles II. having ordered the restitution of Acadia to the French, according to the treaty of Breda, Sir Thomas Temple pretended to a right to retain Pentagoët, asserting that that post was not included in Acadia, but in Nova Scotia. He was shown, however, that this assertion was unfounded.

Description of Acadia.

After this short digression, which should not be regarded as foreign to my history, as it tends to settle an important geographical question directly bearing on the subject we are treating, I will say a few words of these southern provinces of New France, which were then discovered by Messieurs de Monts and de Champlain. There are, perhaps, none in the world possessing finer harbors, or furnishing in greater abundance all the conveniences of life. The climate is quite mild and very healthy, and no lands have been found that are not of surprising fertility. Near La Haive a single grain of wheat was seen which produced one hundred and fifty ears, so long and full that an iron ring had to be put there to support them. The Sieur Denys who reports this fact, actually witnessed by himself, adds that in the same place he saw a field of wheat where the seeds that were least prolific had eight stalks, all bearing ears, the least six inches long.[2] Finally, nowhere are there to be seen forests more beautiful or with wood better fitted for building and masts.

There are in some places copper-mines,[3] and in others of coal. It is even asserted that at three-quarters of a league off Isle Menane, which serves as a guide to vessels to enter St. John's River, there is a rock, almost always covered by the sea, which is of lapis-lazuli. It is added that Commander de Razilli broke off a piece, which he sent to France, and Sieur Denys, who had seen it, says

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[1] De Laet, Novus Orbis, p. 61.

[2] Denys, i. p. 80.

[3] Champlain, des Sauvages, Laverdière's edition, p. 49.

that it was valued at ten crowns an ounce.[1] The fish most commonly caught on the coast are the cod, salmon, mackeral, herring, sardine, shad, trout, gatte, gaparot, barbel, sturgeon, goberge—all fish that can be salted and exported. Seals, wâlruses, and whales are found in great numbers. We are told that in the single port of Moucouadi enough whales can be caught in a single season to load several ships. The rivers, too, are full of fresh-water fish, and the banks teem with countless game. 1603.

Acadia is admirably situated for commerce; it is the head of North America, and the nearest, surest, and most convenient depot for the West India trade. It is two hundred and fifty leagues in circuit, between the 43d and 46th degrees N. latitude. The currents are not troublesome, and are navigated under any wind. The details and proof of all this may be seen in the excellent work of Mr. Denys, who wrote nothing but what he had seen himself, and who was capable of judging. Besides, all who have ever made any stay in the country use the same language. I return to Mr. de Monts.

He sailed from Havre de Grace March 7, 1604,[2] and on the 6th of May he entered a harbor in Acadia, where he found a ship trading in defiance of the prohibition. He confiscated it under his exclusive privilege, and the harbor was called Port Rossignol,[3] from the name of the captain who owned the confiscated ship—as though Mr. de Monts had wished to make compensation to the man for the loss he inflicted on him, by immortalizing his name. On leaving this port he entered another, which was called Port au Mouton, because a sheep got drowned there. Here he landed all his people,[4] and spent more 1604. Settlement of St. Croix.

[1] Denys, i. p. 34.

[2] Lescarbot (ed. 1609), p. 474; 1611, p. 447; 1618, p. 432; though Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1613, p. 6), says, April 7.

[3] Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1613), p. 9. He gives the date as the 12th. Lescarbot (ed. 1618), p. 434; 1611, p. 447. The port is now called Liverpool; but the Great Liverpool lake is still named Lake Rossignol. Haliburton's Nova Scotia, i. p. 12.

[4] Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1613), p. 10.

1603. than a month, while Mr. de Champlain visited all the coast in a sloop, in search of a spot adapted for the proposed settlement.[1]

He might well have spared himself the trouble of going so far, and even of coming to that point; for he was between Camceaux and la Haive, which are, beyond dispute, the two best harbors in Acadia, and most advantageously situated for commerce; but he did not condescend even to stop there. He entered neither Port Royal nor Bay Françoise nor St. John's River, and pushed twenty leagues further, to a small island,[2] where Mr. de Monts, arriving soon after, resolved to settle. He named it Isle de Sainte Croix, and as it is only half a league in circuit, it was soon all cleared. They made quite comfortable quarters, and sowed wheat, which bore remarkably well.[3]

Inconveniences of this port.

They were not slow, however, in being convinced that they had made a poor selection. When winter came they found themselves without fresh water and wood; and as they were soon reduced to salt provisions, and many, to avoid the trouble of going to the mainland for water, drank melted snow, the scurvy broke out in the new colony, and caused great ravages.[4] Accordingly, as soon as navigation was open, Mr. de Monts had nothing more urgent than to seek a more advantageous spot. Steering southward, he ranged the coast, which runs east and west, for the distance of eighty leagues from the St. John's

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[1] During these excursions a priest, named Nicholas Aubry, was lost for sixteen days.

[2] Champlain (Voyages, pp. 11–17) says that he went only six leagues beyond Long Island to Port Ste. Margaret, and then returned to Port du Mouton. He and de Monts set out May 16; and they did enter Port Royal, which owes its name to Champlain (p. 21), as the Bay of Fundy did its name of Baye Française to de Monts (p. 13). They then visited les Mines, crossed the bay, and sailed west to Ouygoudy River, which having reached on the day of that saint, they called St. John's; and then pushed on to an island in Passammaquoddy Bay, to which de Monts gave the name of Ste. Croix (pp. 20–38)—Neutral Island, in Scoodic River.

[3] Champlain (Voyages, 1613, Quebec ed., p. 28), gives a view and plan of the fort.

[4] Ib., pp. 39–58; Lescarbot (ed. 1618), p. 460.

River to the Kinibequi;[1] then north and south to a point which Champlain, who, during the winter, had been engaged in visiting the country, had styled Malebare,[2] because his bark had been well-nigh wrecked there. He had even taken possession, in the king's name, of that and of Cap Blanc or Cape Cod, which is beyond it; but this did not prevent the English settling there soon after. 1604.

About half-way between Sainte Croix and the Quinibeki River, is the Pentagoët River,[3] which traverses midway what was called Norimbegua,[4] of which writers so long made a fair and powerful province, and where there have really never been any thing but a few scantily peopled villages of the Etehemins.[5] Mr. de Monts—unable, finally, after this long range, to fix upon any place for a settlement—returned to Sainte Croix,[6] where Pontgravé soon joined him, having arrived from France. They found the settlement in a most wretched state; and Mr. de Monts, convinced that he must place it elsewhere, resolved to return to Acadia. He accordingly embarked with Pontgravé, and on his way ran into Port Royal. He found it so much to his liking, that he resolved on the spot to transplant his colony thither, and committed the affair to Pontgravé, appointing him his lieutenant.[7] Mr. de Monts transports his colony to Port Royal.

Port Royal, which owes its name to Mr. de Monts,[8] has only one fault, which is the difficulty of entering and get- Description of this port.

[1] Kennebec. Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1613), p. 63.

[2] Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1613) pp. 64–88; Lescarbot (ed. 1618), p. 485. The present Cape Mallebare is Champlain's Cap Baturier. Mallebare harbor is Nauset harbor. Thoreau's Cape Cod, p. 210. Laverdière's Champlain (1613), p. 65.

[3] The Indians called Mount Desert, *Pemetig* (Biard), and the country, Pemetigouek, corrupted into Pentagouet, the English Penobscot.

[4] As to the identity of Norimbegua and Penobscot, see Lescarbot, Biard, de Laet, etc., cited in Laverdière's Champlain (1613), p. 31, n.

[5] Etechemins.

[6] Champlain, Voy. (ed. 1613), p. 95.

[7] Champlain says that seeing no port suitable, and having little time, de Monts transported the colony to Port Royal—now Annapolis (pp. 95, 97); Laverdière's edition, p. 76. He first named d'Orville as his lieutenant, but he was too sick.

[8] Champlain says he named it (Voyages, p. 21); although Lescarbot (ed. 1618, p. 495) asserts the contrary.

1604. ting out; to which may be added, the inconvenience arising from fogs, which are frequent. Only one ship can enter at a time, and that must enter stern foremost and with infinite precautions: this is required by the strength of the currents and the tide. With this exception, nature has omitted nothing, we may say, to make it one of the finest ports in the world. It is two leagues long, and a good league in width. A small island, called Goat Island, is almost in the middle of the basin, and vessels can approach it closely. There is nowhere less than four or five fathoms water, and at the entrance there are eighteen. The bottom everywhere is very good, and ships are sheltered there from all winds. At the extremity of the port is a point, running out between two rivers, where there is water enough for sloops. The climate is temperate, the winter less severe than in many other parts of the coast, game abundant, the country charming—vast meadows surrounded by great forests—and everywhere fertile land.

French Bay and St. John's River.

From Port Royal to St. John's River the distance is two leagues; and this is the width of Bay Françoise (Bay of Fundy), which has the same depth. Copper-mines are said to exist in most of the bays on that coast. The entrance to St. John's River is more difficult than that into Port Royal. You have to steer to the right, without running in too close to land. Within cannon-range is a rapid, over which sloops and even barks can pass at high tide. At the descent of this rapid there is a whirlpool about four hundred paces in circuit, in which there was formerly to be seen, standing erect, a tree, which seemed to float, and never left its place, notwithstanding the force of the current.

Singular tree.

It appeared to be about the size of a barrel, but it was sometimes all covered by the sea for several days. It also seemed to turn, as if on a pivot, for it was not always seen on the same side. The Indians seemed to pay it a kind of worship, attaching to it the skins of beaver and

other animals; and when they set out and did not perceive it, they augured ill of their voyage. It is pretended that Mr. de la Tour (of whom we shall speak hereafter) one day fastened a cable to it, and that ten oarsmen, whom he had put in a longboat, could not succeed in drawing it out, although the current was in their favor.[1] 1604.

To return to the St. John's River. It is one of the largest in New France. Its banks are covered with very fine oaks, and several other kinds of trees of a very good quality of wood, and especially with nut-trees, the fruit of which is triangular in form and very hard to open; but when it is presented to the fire, it opens of itself.[2] Vines are also found there, bearing a very large grape, with a hard, thick skin and a delicious taste. 1605.

Port Royal conceded to Mr. de Poutrincourt.

The Sieur de Pontgravé did not altogether coincide with Mr. de Monts in his opinion of Port Royal, the advantages found there attracting him less than the disadvantages already mentioned repelled him. Mr. de Poutrincourt, however, did not share this opinion; and as he had, when entering into partnership with Mr. de Monts, formed the design of settling with his family in America, he asked for this port and obtained it without difficulty. This concession, made in virtue of the power conferred on Mr. de Monts by the king,[3] was also confirmed by letters patent of his majesty. But that gentleman, more engaged in trade with the Indians than the cultivation of the earth, did not display as much ardor in giving a solid basis to his new colony as he had shown to acquire so fair a domain; and we shall soon see him expelled by the English, against whom he might easily have defended himself, had he been able to oppose them with even thirty men well intrenched.[4]

Fall approaching, Mr. de Monts passed over to France,[5]

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[1] Lafiteau, Mœurs et Coutumes des Sauvages, i., p. 149.

[2] Beech-nuts.

[3] Champ., Voyag. (ed. 1613), p. 39.

[4] Ib. (ed. 1632), p. 98.

[5] Champlain remained in the new settlement. Voyages (ed. 1613), p. 78.

1605. and on reaching the court, found matters much changed in his regard. The fishermen of all the ports in the kingdom had represented to the king, that under pretext of preventing their trade with the Indians, they were deprived of things most essential to their fisheries, and that they would have to abandon them if these vexations were not arrested.[1] Their remonstrance was heard; the council saw the loss that commerce would sustain by an interruption of the fishery, which then constituted one of the most considerable branches, and the exclusive privilege of Mr. de Monts, which was to have lasted two years longer, was revoked. Yet he did not lose courage; he made a new arrangement with Mr. de Poutrincourt, who had followed him to France, and had him equip a vessel at Rochelle, which sailed May 13, 1606.[2]

Mr. de Monts loses his exclusive privilege.

Extremity to which the colony was reduced.

The voyage was so long as to give the settlers at Port Royal reason to believe that they were abandoned. Pontgravé did indeed all he could to encourage them; but at last, as they were absolutely destitute of every thing, he was compelled to embark with the whole party, and hoist sail once more for France. He left in the fort only two men, who volunteered to remain alone at the mercy of the Indians to guard the property that they had been unable to remove.[3] He was almost in sight of the Bay of Fundy, when he learned from a bark of the arrival of Mr. de Poutrincourt at Camceaux. On hearing this, he sailed back and re-entered Port Royal, which Poutrincourt had already reached,[4] without their having met; because, to go from Port Royal to Camceaux, you pass between the continent and Long Island; whereas, to proceed from Camceaux

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[1] Lescarbot (ed. 1618), p. 584; Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1632), p. 44.

[2] Lescarbot (ed. 1618), p. 516.

[3] They left Port Royal, July 17, in conformity with the directions of de Monts, says Champlain, who was there. Voyages (ed. 1613), pp. 106, 107; Laverdière's edition, p. 86; Lescarbot (ed. 1618), p. 516.

[4] Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1613), p. 110. His date, July 25, is wrong. See Laverdière, p. 88. Lescarbot (p. 584) states that he arrived at Port Royal in this vessel, the Jonas, July 27.

to Port Royal, you take the open sea on account of the currents. 1605.

Its seasonable succor.

Mr. de Poutrincourt having brought back abundance to his settlement, thought only of fortifying, and Pontgravé devoted himself entirely to it. He was a wise, able, indefatigable, and highly experienced man. He had the secret of keeping his people always busy, which contributed to preserve them from the diseases which had desolated the settlement of Ste. Croix. Mr. de Champlain also wished to continue his exploration, but as the season was far advanced, he could only go ten or twelve leagues beyond Cape Malebare; and his voyage was almost useless.[1] The cultivation of the earth was more successful; the wheat and other grains sowed gave returns beyond all expectation. The other labors were cheerfully performed, as provisions were not lacking; and the fertility of the soil seemed to guaranty that the source of this abundance would never be exhausted. The diseases, of which they had suppressed the cause, diminished; and, lastly, the Indians began to grow more tractable.

Mark Lescarbot, an advocate from Paris, a man of ability, strongly attached to Mr. de Poutrincourt, had had a curiosity, quite unusual in men of his profession, to see the New World; and he was highly instrumental in putting and retaining things in this happy state. He encouraged some; he touched the honor of others; he won the goodwill of all, and spared himself in naught. He daily invented something new for the public good. And there was never a stronger proof of what advantage a new settlement might derive from a mind cultivated by study, and induced by patriotism to use its knowledge and reflections.[2] We are indebted to this advocate for the best memoirs we

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[1] Poutrincourt went with him. Voyages, p. 113. They went beyond Mallebare to Cape Batturier and Port Fortuné (Chatham), the last thirteen leagues beyond Mallebare. Voyages, pp. 113–39; Laverdière's edition, pp. 92–107. Champlain reached Port Royal again, Nov. 14. Ib., p. 115.

[2] Lescarbot, Histoire de la Nouvelle France, passim.

1605. possess of what passed before his eyes, and for a history of French Florida. We there behold an exact and judicious writer, a man with views of his own, and who would have been as capable of founding a colony as of writing its history.[1]

Mr. de Monts' errors and misfortunes.

While Port Royal gave such flattering hopes, the enemies of Mr. de Monts completed his ruin in France. They succeeded, at last, in having his commission revoked;[2] and he was unable to obtain any recompense for the advances which he had made, except a sum of six thousand livres, to be raised from the vessels which might embark in the fur-trade. Much stress was laid on this grant, which at bottom amounted to nothing, as the cost of levying this
1606. impost would have exceeded the return.[3] The thing was, moreover—from the very nature of the trade, the spots where it was carried on, and the slight recourse he could expect to have against his debtors—entirely impracticable. On the whole, this gentleman had committed nearly the same faults as his predecessors. At an outlay of four or five thousand livres, he might (observes Mr. de Champlain) have selected an advantageous post, to lay the foundations of the colony; and nothing subsequent would have prevented its maintenance and increase, without any necessity of a recourse to an unpopular privilege, which he could not long expect to enjoy.[4]

Camceaux seems to be the spot where he should have stopped. It is the head of Acadia, and the best place to receive supplies from France at all seasons. Camceaux is

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[1] Lescarbot, Histoire de la Nouvelle France, p. 545. Mr. Faillon (Histoire de la Colonie Française, p. 104, n.) not inaptly observes that Charlevoix did not know the later editions of Lescarbot, or he would certainly have been less eulogistic. For the affairs of the winter, see also Champlain, Voyages (1613, ed. Laverdière), p. 115, etc.

[2] He then ordered Poutrincourt back to France; and that gentleman, with Champlain, left Port Royal, Aug. 11, 1607. Champlain, Voyages, p. 154; Laverdière's ed., p. 126; Lescarbot, lib. 4, ch. 18.

[3] Champlain (ed. 1632), p. 46.

[4] It is a matter of regret that there are no papers of de Monts to throw light on his labors.

a harbor, which is about three leagues in length, composed of several islands, the largest of which, lying in the midst of the rest, is about four leagues in circumference. The soil is fertile, well watered, and well wooded. It forms two bays, where the anchorage is very sure; and on the mainland, which is very near, is a river called Salmon River, where a prodigious quantity of that fish is taken.[1] Mr. de Monts omitted another necessary precaution—to have seed to sow on arriving, and live-stock, which would easily have multiplied in an extremely rich country. In this way, the success of his enterprise would not have depended on ships from France, delays in which he should have foreseen; and he might have established a sedentary fishery, which alone would have sufficed to enrich him. But avidity to grasp all, often leads men to lose all.

1606.

Description of the port of Camceaux.

The next year he had sufficient influence to get his privilege restored for a year, but on condition that he made a settlement on the St. Lawrence River.[2] His company had not abandoned him in his misfortune; but it seems to have had only the fur-trade in view, and this object caused it to change its plans and abandon Acadia. The associates equipped two ships at Honfleur, and confided them to Messrs. de Champlain and Pontgravé,[3] who were directed to proceed to Tadoussac to trade, while Mr. de Monts solicited an extension of his privilege. He did not succeed; but this did not prevent their sending vessels up the St. Lawrence River in the spring of 1608.

Mr. de Monts recovers a little.

1607.

His company increased in proportion to the development of the fur-trade. Many persons, at St. Malo especially, had entered it, and increased its capital; but he

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[1] Champlain (Voyages, ed. 1632, p. 96) speaks less favorably.

[2] See this commission, dated Jan. 7, 1608, in Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1613), p. 163; Laverdière's ed., p. 136; Lescarbot, Histoire de la Nouvelle France (ed. 1618), p. 613. It does not mention the St. Lawrence as the place of settlement: "Nous avons resolu de faire continuer l'habitation qui avoit esté cy devant commencée audit pays."

[3] Dupont Gravé sailed, April 5, 1608, and Champlain, the 13th. Voyages (ed. 1613), p. 164; Laverdière's ed., p. 138.

1608. soon perceived that his name injured his associates, and he retired. In fact, as soon as the company no longer had him as its head, it recovered the monopoly; but these merchants had no other object than filling their strong boxes. They did nothing for the colony in Acadia, which was dying out, and made no settlement elsewhere. However, this same year (1608) Mr. de Champlain, who cared little for the trade, and whose thoughts were those of a patriot, after maturely examining where the settlement on the St. Lawrence, directed by the court, might best be established, at last fixed on Quebec.[1] He arrived there on the 3d of July,[2] put up some temporary buildings for himself and his company, and began to clear the ground, which proved fertile.

Foundation of Quebec.

The king wishes Jesuits sent to Acadia.

In the preceding year, the king, on confirming the grant of Port Royal to Mr. de Poutrincourt by Mr. de Monts, notified that gentleman that it was time to labor for the conversion of the Indians, and that it was his wish that Jesuits should be taken over there. His majesty at the same time directed his confessor, Father Cotton, to select missionaries for Acadia; and that religious informed his superiors of the king's wishes. Many of the order volunteered, but only two were accepted—Father Peter Biard, then a professor of theology at Lyons, and Father Enemond Masse, socius of Father Cotton. They were soon ready to embark; but they were not long in discovering that they were not desired in America.[3]

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[1] For the situation of Quebec, and the etymology, see the Chronological Tables, p. 51.—*Charlev.* Champlain makes no reflections, but gives his journal to Quebec, as though it had been decided on to settle there. Charlevoix is undoubtedly correct as to the etymology, Quebec, Quelebec, Ouabec, Quibec—signifying, in the different Algonquin dialects, "narrowing in." Compare Garneau, Histoire du Canada (3d ed.), i. p. 52; Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie, i. p. 80; and especially Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, i. p. 90, where the error of Hawkins' Picture of Quebec (p. 118) is explained; and Laverdière, Voyage de Champlain (1613), p. 148.

[2] Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1613), p. 175; Laverdière's ed., p. 148.

[3] Champlain, Voyages (1632), p. 99; Biard, Relation de la Nouv. France, ch. xi., p. 25 (ed. Queb.) Champlain generally, and Biard, with the other

Mr. de Poutrincourt was a very worthy man, sincerely attached to the Catholic religion; but the calumnies of the so-called Reformers had produced an impression on his mind, and he was fully determined not to take them to Port Royal. He did not, however, show any thing of this to the king, who, having given his orders, had no doubt but that they were executed with all speed. The Jesuits thought so; and Father Biard, at the commencement of the year, proceeded to Bordeaux, where he was assured the embarkation would take place. He was much surprised to see no preparation there; and he waited in vain for a whole year. The king, informed of this, reproached Mr. de Poutrincourt sharply; and the latter pledged his word to the king that he would no longer defer obeying his orders. He actually prepared to go; but as he said nothing of embarking the missionaries, Father Cotton paid him a visit, to bring him to do so in a friendly way. Poutrincourt begged him to be good enough to postpone it till the following year, as Port Royal was by no means in a condition to receive the Fathers.[1] 1608.

So frivolous a reason was regarded by Father Cotton as a refusal, but he did not deem it expedient to press the matter or inform the king. Mr. de Poutrincourt accordingly sailed for Acadia; and, with a view of showing the court that the ministry of the Jesuits was not necessary in the conversion of the heathen, he had scarcely arrived, before he sent the king a list of twenty-five Indians baptized in haste. The ship which brought him to America took back Mr. de Biencourt, his son, who was to remain only long enough to take in a load of provisions and merchandise; for the attraction of the fur-trade had almost

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Jesuit relations, write Massé, not Masse, as Mr. Faillon observes; and du Creux seems to adopt the same form.

[1] Biard, Relation de la Nouvelle France (ed. Quebec) pp. 25, 26; Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1632), p. 99.

1610. entirely arrested the cultivation of the soil, and scarcity was already felt.[1]

Father Cotton flattered himself that Biencourt would keep his father's word, and not sail without the missionaries; but Henry IV. was no longer alive, and Biencourt, it seems, believed himself freed from all obligation by the death of that prince. Father Cotton complained of it; the Marchioness de Guercheville, who had declared herself the protectress of the American missions, supported him and assumed a higher tone. This had its effect; Mr. de Biencourt offered to take the two Jesuits, and even to pay their expenses; but this last offer was not accepted. The queen-mother gave these religious five hundred crowns; Madame de Verneuil furnished the chapel; Madame de Sourdis, the altar linen. Madame de Guercheville attended to all the rest with a zeal that Father Cotton had no little trouble in moderating. The two Fathers proceeded to Dieppe, where, as they were informed, only their presence was awaited to set sail; but on their arrival at that port, two Huguenots,[2] partners of Mr. de Biencourt, refused to give them passage. They informed the court, who at once ordered Mr. de Sigogne, governor of Dieppe, to inform the merchants of the will of the queen-regent. They ridiculed it, and the two Jesuits, seeing that Mr. de Sigogne did not enforce obedience, retired to their college at Eu.[3]

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[1] Biard, Relation, p. 26; Lescarbot, Histoire de la Nouvelle France (ed. 1618), p. 649. He gives the list of those baptized by Mr. Jessé Fleche at p. 652. It was also printed apart. La Conversion des Sauvages de la Nouvelle France, 1610. This whole affair—the hypocritical letter to the Pope, the wholesale baptism of men who had not the remotest idea of Christianity, and who, as Lescarbot admits, were open polygamists—is enough to show that Lescarbot, the prime mover and secretary in the whole, was utterly unscrupulous. Determined to find the Jesuits wrong, he afterwards censured them for attempting to bring these Christians of his fashion to monogamy. See Biard, Lettre au P. Balthazar, in Carayon, Doc. Inédits, xii., pp. 24, 25.

[2] They were du Jardin and du Quesne, the latter ancestor of the famous admiral, and of the Governor of Canada, whose name was once borne by Pittsburgh. Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, i. 80.

[3] Champlain (ed. 1632), p. 100.

Madame de Guercheville, provoked at this conduct, set about a subscription at court, with the proceeds of which the two Calvinists were reimbursed and got rid of.[1] She then wished to treat with Mr. de Biencourt, but not finding his title clear, she bought of Mr. de Monts all the rights that he had obtained of the late king, and which she counted on reviving. Her next step was to form a partnership with Mr. de Biencourt, by which the subsistence of the missionaries was to be drawn from the proceeds of the fishery and fur-trade.[2] The author of the Life of Father Cotton[3] asserts, that that holy man allowed Madame de Guercheville to follow too far the impulse of her generosity on this occasion; but Mr. de Champlain, who had more to do in Acadian affairs at that time than any other man, is not of this opinion; for after justifying that lady in regard to her trading, which he explains at length, he adds: "This is that contract of association which has sowed so many rumors, complaints, and outcries against the Jesuit fathers, who, in this and every thing else, acted equitably according to God and reason, to the shame and confusion of those who envied and slandered them."[4] 1610.

At last the two missionaries sailed with Mr. de Biencourt,[5] and landed at Port Royal on the 12th of June, 1611.[6] The precocious conversions ceased on their arrival, and they soon experienced all the effects of the displeasure of those who had opposed their coming. They pretended not to perceive it, and seemed occupied only with their

Two Jesuits arrive at Port Royal.

1611.

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[1] Biard, Letter to Father Aquaviva, 21st January, 1611.

[2] See the document, dated January 20, 1611, in Lescarbot (ed. 1609), p. 665. This lady, Antoinette de Pons, Marchioness de Guercheville, wife of the Duke de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt, governor of Paris, also obtained a royal patent for all North America from the St. Lawrence to Florida, excepting only Port Royal. Champlain (ed. 1632), p. 103.

[3] Father Peter Joseph d'Orleans. La Vie du P. Pierre Coton de la Compagnie de Jésus, Paris, 1688, 4o.

[4] Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1632), p. 101.

[5] January 26. Lescarbot, p. 668.

[6] Champlain; Biard, Relation, p. 29. This date is, however, wrong. They arrived, May 22. Biard, Letter to Father Balthazar, June 10, 1611; letter to Father Aquaviva, same day.

1611. duties; they even won over, by their courtesy, all in whom prejudice had not warped all uprightness of heart. Mr. de Poutrincourt always acted honorably with them. This gentleman had religious feelings, and it is impossible to read without edification the letter[1] which he wrote in 1608 to Pope Paul V., to testify the sincere zeal which induced him to exile himself with his family to a foreign land, in order to bring the heathen to the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and soliciting his apostolical benediction. But when prejudice is supported by interested views it makes an impression rarely effaced, and leads to steps the consequence of which are not foreseen. The Calvinists in France incessantly declared that the Jesuits went to the New World only to rule and enrich themselves; and they had even persuaded Catholics, who dreaded to find terrible rivals in these religious. Hence there never was between Mr. de Poutrincourt and the missionaries that good understanding which would have contributed infinitely to advance the work of God, and been of no small use in solidly establishing Port Royal.[2]

The Indians of Acadia.

Father Biard has given us a relation of his voyage,[3] and of what occurred before his eyes in Acadia, to which, I think, more credit can be given than to the memoirs used by John de Laet[4] to decry the Jesuits; even were not these memoirs refuted by Mr. Champlain, who was present, at all. This missionary, speaking of the natives of the country—then called *Souriquois*, and since by us termed *Micmaks*—portrays them to us as men well formed, and of an advantageous stature.[5] Lescarbot says the same; yet

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[1] It may be found in Lescarbot (ed. 1609, p. 656; ed. 1618, p. 605), who drew it up.

[2] Mr. Faillon, in his late history, regards both Lescarbot and Poutrincourt as really belonging to the Calvinist party, if not open Calvinists.

[3] Lyons, 1612, 1618.

[4] De Laet, Novus Orbis, p. 59. De Laet followed the last edition of Lescarbot, which Charlevoix did not know, and actually cites Lescarbot as his authority.

[5] Biard (p. 8) says they are of smaller stature than the French. Charlevoix seems to have drawn little in his account of the Indians from Biard.

1611.

The Indians of Acadia.

they are, on the whole, smaller than most of the other Indians of Canada, but there are none braver in all the continent. They have long made a fierce war on the Esquimaux; and in order to attack them in their caverns and on their rocks, they do not hesitate to paddle their bark canoes thirty or forty miles by sea. In the sequel of this history we shall see them, with their neighbors, under the name of Abenaqui nations, join the French in Newfoundland and New England, and acquire an ascendancy over the English of America which they still preserve, although reduced to a small number of warriors.

They have not only never been cannibals,[1] but have been always remarked for their mildness and docility. Hence they had little difficulty in accustoming themselves to our manners, a point they have in common with the other tribes of this southern coast of Canada. Polygamy was permitted among the Acadians; but the privilege was rarely exercised by any but the *sagamos*, as they termed their chiefs.[2] The dignity of sagamo was elective, and the choice generally fell on one at the head of a more numerous family. All the youth were under the orders of this chief; and all, before being married, could work only for him. The married, even, having many children, paid him a kind of tribute which was rigorously exacted. Each town had its sagamo, independent of the others; but all kept up a kind of correspondence with each other, which closely united the whole nation in one.[3] They spent a good part of the fair season in visiting and holding councils, where general affairs were discussed. If any difference arose between families, or even individuals, it was the duty of the chief of the town to effect a reconciliation.

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[1] Biard in Carayon, Documents Inédits (xii., p. 84), implies that they had been.

[2] Biard, p. 13. Biard found that Cacagous, the Christian sagamo of Port St. Jean, had eight wives; and another Christian considered monogamy good only for the French. He makes polygamy general. Lettre au P. Balthazar, in Carayon, Documents Inédits, xii., p. 25.

[3] Ib., p. 11.

1611. If he could not succeed, the offended party was entitled to right himself, and the *lex talionis* was strictly observed.

The Indians of Acadia.

Little quarrels were settled on the spot. They got each other by the head, gave a few cuffs, and generally separated without doing each other any great harm. Husbands treated their wives harshly. A Frenchman one day reproached one of these Indians for beating his wife severely. The Indian replied that he was master in his own cabin, and that no one had a right to gainsay him if he beat his dog. A woman surprised in adultery, risked her life; and although less attention was paid to the conduct of girls, those whose shame was exposed were dishonored.[1] The French were not long in the country without perceiving that familiarity with their women was not liked, and the women, on their side, evinced much modesty and discretion.

If we may credit Lescarbot, from whom I drew almost all these details,[2] an infant, as soon as it was born, and before it was allowed to take the breast, was forced to swallow grease and oil. The eldest son always bore the father's name, with a syllable added; a different name was given to the second, which also had a syllable added for the third, and so on with the rest: but these names were apparently changed at marriage. Dead bodies were embalmed, or rather, after being slashed and emptied, were dried to prevent corruption.[3] Mourning consisted in painting themselves black, and in great lamentations.[4]

As soon as a father of family died, he was taken from his cabin, which was set on fire without removing any thing. Each then presented the corpse the best he had, and they adorned the tomb without and within. Warriors, before taking the war-path, fought with their wives, and if they got the worst, had no doubt of the success of their expedition; but if, on the contrary, their wives were the

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[1] Biard, Relation, p. 14.
[2] Lescarbot, 1618, pp. 696–970.
[3] Biard differs (p. 19).
[4] Ibid., and in Carayon, xii., p. 84

weaker, they augured ill. A feast was given at a boy's birth, as well as when he cut his first tooth and killed his first animal in the chase. If any one, on entering a cabin, caressed the children, they made him a present. Brothers and sisters treated each other with much civility and modesty. 1611

These Indians had quite a curious way of restoring those who had been nearly drowned and had swallowed much water. They filled with tobacco-smoke a bladder or large intestine, well tied at one end; to the other they attached a small reed, and inserting it into the anus, by pressing the intestine or bladder, forced the smoke into the body. They then hung him by his feet to a tree; and the smoke, which filled his belly, made him discharge by the mouth all the water he had swallowed.

Misconduct of some Frenchmen towards them.

The Acadians have at all times lived on good terms with the French; and there is the more reason to be surprised, as they got it into their head that our nation would destroy them. In fact, even in Mr. de Monts' time, they diminished sensibly; and soon after, a great many deserted places were shown, where large towns were said to have existed before our fishermen frequented the coast. They added that they had been poisoned; and this reproach was not without foundation. Sublimate and other similar drugs were more than once found in their hands, given to them by Frenchmen who taught them how to use them to get rid of their enemies. I do not believe that this happened often; but what was only too ordinary is, that some of the provisions brought in were damaged, causing diseases, the more dangerous as the Indians were ignorant of their cause and nature as well as of their proper treatment.[1]

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[1] Biard, Relation, p. 14. In his letters he says that this decrease had begun previously, and cites statements of Mambertou as to population in his earlier days. Biard estimates the Etchemins at one thousand; Algonquins and Montagnais, one thousand; Micmacs, two thousand. Carayon, Documents Inédits, xii. p. 83.

1611. They had few maladies before knowing us, and used only simple and natural remedies. They made much of exercise. Sweats and baths were in great repute among them, as among all the other Indians of Canada. They lived, however, wretchedly, their indolence reducing them often to the greatest want, amid the greatest abundance of all the necessaries of life. Each season in that country can furnish its inhabitants, were they as numerous as in the most densely peopled districts of Europe, means of living with little fatigue; and nothing is more easy than to lay up from one season to another enough to guard against the accidents which might occur.

Abundance of every thing in Acadia.

In October and November begins the hunt of the beaver and elk, which lasts a part of the winter. In December, or to speak more precisely, during the last two moons, a fish called *ponamo* spawns on the ice, and they take as many as they like. It is, I believe, a kind of seal.

It is also the time when the turtles lay. The bear, hare, and otter are also wealth of this season, as well as game—that is to say, partridges, ducks, teal, Canada goose,[1] and quantities of river birds, found everywhere in abundance. In January they take the seal, the flesh of which at first seemed to our sailors as good as veal, and which, in fact, is neither disagreeable nor unhealthy.

From the commencement of February till the middle of March[2] is the best time for hunting the caribou and other animals of which I spoke at first. Towards the end of March, the fish begin to spawn, and enter the rivers in such numbers as to be incredible to one who has not seen it. The first that appears is the smelt, which is three times as large here as in Europe. At the end of April comes the herring; and at the same time all the islands and banks of the rivers are covered with wild geese, which come to build their nests. The eggs of these

[1] Outarde (*Bernicla Canadensis*).

[2] Biard says May.

birds alone would almost suffice to maintain the inhabitants at this time, without greatly injuring the multiplication of the bird. Then come the salmon and sturgeon, and in all the hollows of the rocks and other open places you see nothing but nests of birds of all kinds.[1] 1611.

I do not mention the cod fishery, which is very abundant on all the coasts of Acadia, because the Indians do not know it; but independently of all that we have just seen, had the Acadians chosen to devote themselves never so little to the cultivation of the earth, the raising of cattle, and poultry, they might easily have dispensed with fishing and hunting, or followed them only for amusement. At the time of which I am speaking, from the month of May till the end of September, they were engaged only in trade with the French; and each one found it profitable. Provided they gave them plenty to eat, and this could be furnished cheaply, Indians not being nice as to the quality of the food, the French got from them whatever they wished: the profit of this trade was accordingly very great.

Nevertheless, wretched as the people appear, the sagamos assumed a very haughty tone with our first merchants. They had to pay them compliments, and make them presents, in order to obtain permission to trade; and in their replies, they imagined that they conferred high honor on the great sagamo of the French, to treat him as an equal, in spite of all the attempts of the merchants to give them an exalted idea of the power of their sovereign.[2] Pride of the Indians.

This is what may be said in particular of the first North American Indians to whom we undertook to announce the gospel. We are assured that they were then very long lived; and Lescarbot affirms that the celebrated Mambertou, of whom we are about to speak, was a hundred years old when he saw him for the first time in 1606, and that he

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[1] Biard, Relation de la Nouvelle France, pp. 9, 10.

[2] Lescarbot, Histoire de la Nouv. France.

1611. was married in the time of Jacques Cartier. Yet all who knew him, found him so hale and vigorous that they should not have judged him a man of sixty.[1]

History of the Sagamore Mambertou.

Our two missionaries deemed it their first duty, on arriving at Port Royal, to learn the language of the country; but they were quite astonished to find no one among the French who could or would aid them in this study. Pontgravé even, who was more capable than any other of rendering this service, not daring to have too much intercourse with them for fear of irritating Mr. de Poutrincourt, with whom he was not on good terms.[2] Fortunately for the Fathers, the sagamo Mambertou had learned a little French, and eagerly sought their friendship. This chief, who enjoyed a high repute in his nation, had not consented to receive baptism, as some of his subjects did, without knowing what Christianity was; and the little that had been taught him on the subject, before his baptism, inspired him with a great desire for thorough instruction. Nothing could have been more seasonable for the missionaries. They attached themselves to him, and found him indeed a man of ability.[3]

He was not, in fact, in any way a barbarian except in his outward man and his pride. Lescarbot, who was often in his company, makes a eulogy on him which will doubtless sound exaggerated to those who do not know that everywhere are to be found men thus happily born, whom neither defect of culture nor a savage education prevent from rising, by their own genius, above most of those even who have enjoyed the greatest aid to form the mind and heart. He had received in baptism the name of Henry, the great Henry IV. being still alive. He was a brave and able warrior, after the manner of the Indians; and

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[1] Lescarbot, pp. 588, 589.

[2] Biard, Relation de la Nouvelle France, p. 31.

[3] Mambertou could not have aided much, as he died, Sept. 18, 1611 (Lescarbot, p. 672), within three months after their arrival there, proposing to teach them. Biard, Relation, pp. 32, 33; Carayon, Documents Inédits, xii. p. 99.

Lescarbot, who makes him his hero, chants his military exploits in verse. He was of very great stature, and had a noble air. He is said even to have had a beard, which is so rare among the American tribes, that had he not been born before the arrival of the French in his country, there would have been no doubt but that European blood mingled in his veins with that of America. He had acquired over all his nation an authority that no one before him had been able to exercise.[1] 1611. Mambertou.

What rendered the intercourse of this Indian the more agreeable and useful to the missionaries is, that he had been an *autmoin*—such being the name the Acadians give their jugglers. Father Biart one day asked him whether the demon whom he had, he said, frequently invoked, ever became visible to him? He replied that this had sometimes happened; "but," added he, "what induced me to renounce that profession is, that that spirit of evil never bade me do any thing that was not bad."[2] The help and credit of such a neophyte gave the two apostolic laborers every ground for hoping soon to see themselves in a position to produce fruit among these tribes. But they did not long enjoy this advantage. Mambertou fell sick with a dysentery, which in a short time brought him to the point of death.

He had himself at once carried to the quarter of the French, in the hope of receiving more relief there than in his own cabin. Father Enemond Masse took him into his own house;[3] and Father Biart, who was absent, returned at the first information of his dangerous state. Nothing was spared to preserve a man, deemed equally necessary to the progress of the colony and the establishment of the Christian religion; but all remedies were useless. He soon perceived it, and himself asked for the last sacraments of His last illness.

[1] Lescarbot, Muses de la Nouvelle France; Biard, Lettre in Carayon, xii. pp. 55, 101; Champlain, Voyages (1613, pp. 118, 119, 126, Laverdière's ed.), speaks of Membertou.

[2] Biard, Relation, p. 20.

[3] Carayon, Doc. Inéd., xii. 54.

1611. the Church, which he received with lively sentiments of piety. He then begged Mr. de Biencourt, commandant at Port Royal in his father's absence, to have his body transported, as soon as he expired, to his own town, in order to be buried with his kindred.

Embarrassment of the missionaries as to him.

Biencourt, who saw nothing objectionable in this, promised it; but Father Biart, to whom the commandant spoke, strongly opposed the idea, and represented to both the scandal which such a course would give. Biencourt replied, that he had given his word, and that it did not become him to retract it; that, after all, he had only to bless the place where the sagamo was to be buried. The missionary maintained that this could not be done, without first exhuming all the bodies of the heathen interred in the same place, which the Indians would never permit, and which was directly against the sick man's intention. He argued in vain. Mr. de Biencourt persisted; and Mambertou, seeing himself upheld by the commandant, renewed his request, and would hear no more on the subject.

His edifying death.

Father Biart then retired, and declared that neither he nor his colleague would take charge of the obsequies. Some moments after he returned, to continue to render the dying chief the care his condition required, and to endeavor to recall him from his obstinacy. God blessed his firmness; and his charity touched Mambertou, who the next day asked him to pardon his indocility, assuring him that he would not, for all the world, be deprived of the suffrages of the Church, and told him that he left it to him to give him burial where he thought proper. He soon after expired in sentiments of faith and confidence in God, which would have done honor to an old Christian; the obsequies paid to him were such as would have been rendered to the commandant himself, and there was no one but sincerely regretted him.[1]

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[1] Biard, Relation de la Nouvelle France, pp. 32, 33; Letters in Carayon, xii. p. 99; Lescarbot, Histoire de la Nouvelle France (1618), p. 672.

Some days after, Mr. de Biencourt and Father Biart set out to visit all the coast to the Kinibequi, which they ascended for some distance; they were well received by the Canibas, an Abenaqui nation, which has given name to this river;[1] they obtained of them provisions, which began to fail at Port Royal, and in return, the missionary, with the help of an Indian who knew French tolerably, announced Jesus Christ to them. He found a docile people, who heard him with respect, and did not seem to him far removed from the kingdom of God.[2] Some Englishmen had, but a short time previously, attempted to settle on this river; but they had acted so ill towards these Indians that the latter had forced them to withdraw.[3] The Canibas found the French more humane, and treated with them so cordially that all seemed to promise that they would one day have in that nation a barrier against enterprising neighbors, who recognize no limits to their colonies but such as they cannot pass by force.

1612.

Father Biart visits the Abenaquis.

Father Enemond Masse on his side had also set out to reconnoitre the country and the dispositions of the people in favor of Christianity. His guide was a son of Mambertou, a Christian, by name Louis; but he was not able to go far, having fallen dangerously ill. This mischance threw the Indian into great distress, which the missionary at first supposed sprung entirely from attachment to him; but he soon saw that it had another cause. One day, when he was very low, Louis came and begged him to write to Mr. de Biencourt that he was sick and dying;

Strange idea of an Indian.

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[1] It was formerly called Canibequi. —*Charlevoix.*

[2] Biard, Relation de la Nouvelle France, pp. 35, 36.

[3] Biard, Relation de la Nouvelle France, p. 36. He gives the date as 1608–9. Evidently Popham's colony, begun in 1607, abandoned in 1608. Biard, in his letter to the Provincial, January 31, 1612, would seem to indicate that the Indians believed they had killed Popham by magic. Carayon, Documents Inédits, xii., p. 70. He puts the repulse of the English by the Indians in 1609, when eleven English were killed. Weymouth had been here in 1605. See Rosier, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., series 3, vol. viii.; Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. v.; Laverdière's Champlain (1613), p. 74.

1612. without that, he added, they will think that I killed you. I will take care not to do it, said the sick man: you are perhaps one to kill me in fact, and use my letter to conceal your crime. The Indian understood what that meant, was ashamed of his folly, and begged the Father to implore God to restore him, that no suspicion might rest on him. I cite this example as very characteristic of the Indians: on many occasions, one would be tempted to believe them endowed with only half reason, while in numberless others they are more of men than ourselves.[1]

What retards the progress of the gospel.

Meanwhile time passed and the colony lost rather than gained. The cultivation of the earth was no longer thought of, which made the French constantly dependent on the Indians for subsistence; and this alone was enough to check the progress of the gospel, by the contempt which this sad state drew on us from the Indians. In fact the missionaries could do little more than baptize the dying children when notified in time. The greatest evil, however, was the want of concert between them and those in command at Port Royal. It was impossible for the Indians not to perceive it, and the experience of all times shows that nothing is more injurious to the progress of Christianity.

Project of a new settlement.

Mr. de Poutrincourt had remained in France, and had become at variance with Madame de Guercheville,[2] who had entered into partnership with him only to bring him to the interest of the missionaries. As she saw that she had not succeeded, she thought seriously of removing them to some point where they would have nothing to do with him, and where they could labor, unimpeded, in the discharge of their ministry. Mr. de Champlain had made every effort, but in vain, to induce her to join Mr. de Monts, whose uprightness he guarantied; but for the simple reason that Mr. de Monts was a Calvinist she would not

[1] Biard, Relation de la Nouvelle France, p. 41; Lescarbot, Histoire de la Nouvelle France (1618), p. 673.

[2] Poutrincourt was imprisoned. Letter in Lescarbot, Histoire de la Nouvelle France, 678.

listen to it, and had, in the sequel, every reason to repent, for it is certain that had she given him the three thousand six hundred livres which he asked to establish a colony on the St. Lawrence River, she would have avoided the misfortunes which we shall soon see.[1] 1612.

The missionaries remove to Pentagoët.

She then formed another project, which she led the queen-mother to favor, so as even to wish to contribute to the expenses, which were ordered by the marchioness with more generosity than order or judgment. She fitted out a vessel at Honfleur, and ordered the Sieur de la Saussaye, who was to command it in her name in America, to take on board every thing necessary to begin a new colony. This vessel sailed March 12th, 1613, and on the 6th of May anchored in Port de la Haive, where Mr. de la Saussaye set up the arms of Madame de Guercheville.[2] It was natural to make the projected colony at this place. La Haive is one of the best and finest ports in the world, and, as already remarked, the soil there is excellent. Yet they did not stop there nor elsewhere in Acadia. 1613.

From la Haive, Saussaye proceeded to Port Royal, where he found only five persons, including the two Jesuits, and an apothecary, who was in command. Mr. de Biencourt and most of the French had gone far inland to seek food. He took the two Jesuits on board, and ran along the coast to the Pentagoët River, which he entered, and resolved to settle there.[3] This river, which in older narratives is called the River of Norimbegua, is forty-five leagues from the St. John's: the river of the Etechemins[4] is between them, but nearer to the latter. Formerly all the country from Port Royal to Kinibequi was peopled

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[1] Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1632), p. 112.

[2] Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1632), p. 104; Biard, Relation de la Nouv. France, p. 44. Both give May 16, not 6. Lescarbot, Hist. de la Nouv. France (ed. 1618), p. 680.

[3] It is now known only under the name given to it by the Indians, and which is that of Peskadamioukkanti. —*Charlevoix.* They did not enter the Penobscot. It was their intention to settle at Kadesquit, probably Bangor. Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1632), p. 105.

[4] Ste. Croix.

1613. by these Indians, whom we now know under the name of *Malecites*, and who are reduced to insignificance.[1]

Description of Pentagoët.

The mouth of the Pentagoët River (44° 20′ N.) is quite wide, forms a delta, and can admit vessels of three hundred tons. The environs are very agreeable, and the soil highly productive.[2] Besides the trees which we have in France, as the oak, beech, ash, maple—here of very fine quality—you may see pines sixty feet high, the grain of which is not very coarse, any more than that of four kinds of fir, of which I speak elsewhere. On which the Sieur Denys remarks, that the further south you go, the better adapted the trees are for masts, and that those of New England equal any produced by Norway. He prefers the latter, nevertheless, and in general the timber of cold countries to that of the more temperate, like this part of Acadia, which extends from la Haive to the St. Lawrence River.[3]

Observation on masts.

He then seeks the physical cause of this difference; and after laying down as a principle, that the closer the grain of the tree the better it is fitted for masts, he pretends that in warm countries, where the firs grow on elevated spots and dry soil, the heat of the sun dries up the superfluous humor of these trees, and prevents the grain from becoming coarse by holding it closer and giving it a more internal union. In the north, he adds, the cold produces about the same effect: it closes up the wood, so that the sap does not give it enough nourishment to make the grain increase; but in temperate countries, nothing prevents the swelling of the grain, so that the wood is weaker and breaks more easily.[4]

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[1] Champlain says the Kennebec Indians were Etechemins (ed. 1632, p. 66). Their language differed from the Micmac. Biard, p. 37. The name Abenaki seems to have applied to all between the Sokokis and the St. John. The language of these tribes, the Abenakis or Kennebec Indians, the Indians on the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy, being almost the same. The dictionary of Father Rale preserves the fullest vocabulary for its study.

[2] Biard in Carayon, xii., p. 72.

[3] Denys.

[4] Ib.

Bears in numbers are also found at Pentagoët as well as in Acadia, which live on acorns, and have a flesh as white and delicate as veal; great numbers of moose, some beaver, a few otter, hares, partridges, turtles, Canada geese, and other like game in plenty. Opposite the mouth of the river are several islands, around which quantities of mackerel are caught, especially off Mount Desert Island, which you pass at your right on entering. The English carry on an extensive trade in this fish with the West Indies. The herring is rare, but the gasparot, a smaller and inferior species, is very abundant. During winter many codfish are taken. Between Pentagoët and Kinibequi there were formerly Indians called Armouchiquois, of whom Champlain and Lescarbot speak frequently. They were treacherous thieves: the French never could improve them, and they retired towards New England.[1] 1613.

Such was the spot[2] where Mr. de la Saussaye planted Madame de Guercheville's colony. He landed on the northern shore, and hastily threw up a slight intrenchment, to which he gave the name of Saint Sauveur. His whole party, amounting to twenty-five persons, was soon lodged; because the crew of his ship, which numbered thirty-five men, joined the new settlers, and all labored with much good-will and concert. The houses completed, they began to cultivate the ground;[3] and while they were engaged in this,[4] Father Biart, accompanied by a gentleman, la Motte le Vilin, who was la Saussaye's lieutenant, Situation of Madame de Guercheville's colony.

[1] Champlain, in describing the coast, makes the Almouchiquois country begin at the Kennebec and extend beyond Cape Cod (Voyages, 1632, pp. 67–93) Biard in Carayon (Documents Inédits, xii., p. 82) says from the Kennebec to 40° N.

[2] The spot was on the eastern side of Mount Desert Island, on the western side of Soames's Sound. The site of the French colony is now occupied by Mr. Fernald. Parkman's Pioneers, p. 277.

[3] Biard says there was a want of concert, because Saussaye began to cultivate instead of working at houses and a fort (Relation, p. 46).

[4] The incident here described occurred before they began the settlement. Father Biard had gone to examine whether the spot was suitable for a colony (Relation, p. 64).

1613. made an excursion into the country to ascertain the disposition of the Indians of that district. In this excursion a very singular thing befell him.

Extravagant custom of the Malecites.

As he was passing near a village, he heard frightful howls. He judged that they were mourning for the dead; but an Indian, whom he chanced to meet on the way, told him that a child was dying, and that if he quickened his pace, he would still be in time to baptize it. The missionary immediately started to run; and on entering the village, perceived all the inhabitants ranged in a line on both sides, and in the middle the father holding the little patient in his arms. At every sigh of the dying child he uttered cries, more suited to strike terror than excite compassion. All the Indians replied in the same tone, and the forests around echoed with their howls.

The missionary, touched at this spectacle, approaches the child's father, and asks whether he will allow it to be baptized. The poor man answered only by putting the child in his hands. The missionary gave it to Mr. de la Motte to hold, sent for water, and baptized it. During the ceremony perfect silence reigned. These savages seemed to expect some extraordinary result. The servant of God perceived it; and filled with a truly apostolic confidence, he aloud conjured the Almighty to vouchsafe to draw from the bosom of his mercy an instance of his power, in favor of this blind but docile people.

A dying child healed by the virtue of baptism.

At the close of his prayer, he took the child and put it in its mother's arms, telling her to put it to the breast. She did so, the child suckled for a considerable time, and then seemed as well as though it had never been sick.[1] It is easy to conceive the amazement of the Indians at the sight of so prompt and so unexpected a cure. They stood long as if deprived of motion, and the missionary derived all the fruit that he could then expect from so wonderful an

[1] It is somewhat strange to find an Irish saint intervening here, but O'Hanlon (Life of St. Lawrence O'Toole, p. 128) attributes the cure to relics of that saint. See Carayon, Doc. Inédits, xii., p. 53.

event. The natives regarded him as a man come down from heaven, and there was nothing that he could not promise himself from so favorable a disposition, had he not, a few days later, been unfortunately compelled to renounce his projects and his hopes. 1613.

Eleven English vessels at Pentagoët.

The new colony at St. Savior's had not yet had time to assume a regulated form, when an unforeseen storm overturned it to its very foundations. Eleven English vessels sailed from Virginia, under the command of Samuel Argall, to fish near Mount Desert Island. This commander learned on his way that strangers were settling at Pentagoët. He had no doubt they were French; and although the two crowns were at peace, he resolved to expel them, relying on a charter of James I., king of Great Britain, which permitted his subjects to settle up to the forty-fifth degree;[1] and he thought that he might profit by the weakness of the French, to treat them as usurpers. But the historian of Virginia is evidently mistaken when he places this enterprise in 1618, at which time the same Argall was governor of Virginia; for he is formally contradicted on this point by all contemporary historians and by incontestable monuments.[2]

They reduce the colony.

This Captain Argall had, it seems, only one armed ship, to escort the fishing vessels; at least, at St. Savior's, they perceived only one vessel bearing down, under full sail, with the English flag. Although la Saussaye was ignorant of the intention of the English, he considered it his duty to prepare for any event, remaining ashore to defend his fort, while la Motte le Vilin was ordered to

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[1] Patents to the London and Plymouth Company in 1606, giving them from 34° to 45°.

[2] Beverly, History of Virginia, p. 33,4. Smith (Generall Historie, book iv.) would make Argall sent by Sir Thomas Dale in 1614, after knowing of the French settlement; but this may refer to his return. Hamor, who left Virginia in 1614, mentions it in his True Discourse, p. 36. The main authority is Argall himself. See Letter to Nicholas Hawes, dated June, 1613 (Purchas, iv., 1764), where he says he sailed in May, with one ship of one hundred and thirty tons, carrying fourteen guns and sixty men.

1613. defend the ship, which was at anchor; but neither of them had cannon, while Argall had fourteen. The latter first attacked the intrenchment; and after cannonading it for some time at long range, closed in and poured upon it a volley of musketry, which killed several,—among the rest, Gilbert du Thet, a Jesuit lay-brother, whose valor, real or pretended, excites the spleen of John de Laet.[1]

Villany of the English captain.

La Saussaye, seeing that a longer resistance would not save his fort, and would entail the loss of the rest of his men, surrendered. La Motte le Vilin was soon compelled to follow his example; but his pilot, Lamets,[2] not deeming it prudent to trust to the English, escaped to the woods, with three others. Argall's first act, on taking possession, was to cut down the cross which the missionaries had erected in the settlement, in order to assemble the faithful at the hours of public prayer until such time as a chapel was erected. He then searched la Saussaye's chests, and finding his commission, took it, unperceived.

The next day, la Saussaye having gone to visit him, Argall demanded his commission. He said that it was in his chest; but on opening it to find the document, was surprised to find it gone. Then Argall, putting on a serious face, called him a pirate, saying that he deserved death, and at once gave up the settlement and ship to pillage.[3] This done, he seemed to relax, at the solicitation of the Jesuits, whom he at first treated very decently. He even offered the French a bark, or a kind of sloop with a

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[1] Biard (Relation de la Nouvelle France, p. 47) says that du Thet fired a cannon. They had therefore one, at least. Biard says, too, that du Thet was neither "peureux ny couard." See De Laet, Novus Orbis, pp. 59, 60. Biard's letter of May 26, 1614 (Carayon, Documents, xii., p. 106), mentions Gilbert du Thet's death, but gives no details of attack. Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1632), p. 106. Parkman erroneously supposes du Thet a priest. He was merely a lay brother.

[2] Biard calls him le Bailleur (p. 49).

[3] Biard, Relation, p. 48; Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1632), p. 106.

deck, to return to France; but this vessel was too small to hold all. 1613.

What became of the French.

He then proposed that those who knew any trade should go to Virginia with him,—promising that they should be at full liberty to profess their religion there, and have passage back to France, if, after a year's service, they desired it. Several accepted this offer; and the Sieur de la Motte le Vilin, for whom the English captain had conceived an esteem and friendship, as well as Father Biart, offered to follow him. Two other Jesuits, who had come from France with Mr. de la Saussaye, embarked with them, to proceed to an English ship soon to sail for England.[1] In this way, the bark was large enough for the remaining French and their commander, with Father Enemond Masse, who would not abandon them.[2]

One thing, their want of a pilot, troubled them; but the day or day after their departure, as they coasted along in sight of land to reach Port Royal, they perceived Lamets on shore. They took him aboard, and steered for Acadia. Crossing the Bay of Fundy without touching at Port Royal, they fell in, a little beyond port de la Haive, with a St. Malo ship, which took them all aboard, and carried them safely to St. Malo.[3] Those who followed Captain Argall to Virginia were not as fortunate. On their arrival at Jamestown, the governor-general[4] declared that they must all expect to be treated as pirates, and in fact he condemned them to death.

Argall in vain represented that he had given his word

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[1] This is very much confused. Biard says that Argall agreed to take them to a neighboring English fishing station, but that he carried him, with Father James Quentin and John Dixon, to Virginia. Carayon, p. 109. There were but four Jesuits—Biard, Masse, Quentin, and Brother du Thet.

[2] Biard, Relation, p. 50. In his letter of May 26, 1614, he says fourteen went with Masse.

[3] They found two vessels beyond, at Sesembre—one belonging to du Pont, the other the Sauveur, Captain Bullot—each of which took half the party. Biard, p. 51; Champlain, p. 108.

[4] Sir Thomas Dale, acting for Sir Thomas Gates.

1613. that they should be well treated and be free; that they had surrendered to him only on that condition; and that it was under the same promise that they had voluntarily followed him to Virginia to serve his Britannic Majesty's subjects. The governor replied that he had exceeded his powers, and that as their commander had no commission, they could not but be treated as pirates. Argall, seeing no way to save them except by avowing his treachery to the Sieur de la Saussaye, had the honesty to save the lives of so many innocent men at the expense of the shame entailed by such a confession.

Argall avows his treachery, to save the lives of the French.

The sight of the commission which he produced disarmed the governor; but he at once resolved to expel the French from all Acadia, setting up as a pretext the patent of the king of Great Britain. Argall was sent on this expedition with three ships, taking all the French whom he had brought from St. Savior's. On his way he learned that a French ship had entered the River Pentagoët, and he prepared to engage it, but did not find it. He set up the arms of England at the same place where those of Madame de Guercheville had been. Then he went to Sainte Croix Island, where he destroyed all that remained of Mr. de Monts' old colony. He did the same at Port Royal, where he found no one, and in two hours' time the fire consumed all that the French possessed in a colony where they had expended more than a hundred thousand crowns, and labored many years, without having taken the precaution to put themselves in a position to resist a sudden attack.[1] The heaviest loser was Mr. de Poutrincourt, who after this gave up all ideas of America. According to John de Laet he returned to the service, where he had already distinguished himself by many brilliant feats, and died on a bed of honor.[2]

The English seize Port Royal.

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[1] Biard, Relation, pp. 52–4. He says nothing of the ship in the Penobscot, but Champlain alludes to it, p. 108.

[2] De Laet, Novus Orbis, p. 60. He was killed at Méry-sur-Seine in 1615, at the age of fifty-eight, and buried at St. Just. Lescarbot (ed.

Argall having no more to do in Acadia, sailed again[1] for Jamestown, keeping on board the French whom he had compelled to witness the destruction of Port Royal. They had scarcely weighed anchor when they perceived a Frenchman on the shore. As he made signs that he wished to speak, Argall went to the bulwarks of his ship to hear him, and this man told him to distrust a Spanish Jesuit named Biart, who would play him some ugly trick, if he was not on his guard. Father Biart was of Grenoble. But one of the means then used in France to make the Jesuits odious, was to stigmatize them as secret partisans of the house of Austria. It is notorious that it was one of the accusations brought against them to prevent Henry IV. from restoring them in his kingdom, and all know the noble reply of that wise prince to those who spoke to him in this way. Argall was surprised at the Frenchman's words, and the impression they made on his mind was soon manifest. He even resolved to put the missionaries to death on his arrival in Virginia. But Providence ordered otherwise; a storm, lasting three days with great violence, scattered the three English vessels. The smallest, a mere bark, carrying only three men, was never heard of. Argall kept on and arrived safely in Virginia.[2] The third, which carried the three Jesuits, and was commanded by one Turnell, was driven far to northward and then taken by a furious southwest wind, which drove them wind astern to the Azores, where they were glad to find a port.[3]

1613.

Adventures of the French of St. Sauveur.

1618), p. 694. Poutrincourt, in his letter to Lescarbot (ib., p. 684), and in his Plainte devant le Juge de l'Admirauté de Guyenne (ib., p. 687), and the Briefe Intelligence from Virginia by Letters (Purchas, iv., 1808), accuse Biard of contributing to the ruin of Port Royal.

[1] He left Port Royal, Nov. 9. Biard, Relation, p. 56.

[2] On his way he is said, by Beauchamp Plantagenet's New Albion, to have visited Manhattan, and compelled the Dutch to submit to the British crown. This statement is probably fictitious. See Hon. G. Folsom, N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., series 2, vol. i., p. 333. Biard (Relation, p. 56) says he was about three weeks going from Port Royal to Virginia. He left Port Royal, Nov. 9, 1613. Champlain, p. 109.

[3] Biard, Relation, p. 56; Biard, Carayon, Doc. Inédits, xii., p. 112.

1613. Here the Jesuits, who had been grossly ill-treated by the captain, had only to make themselves known and say a few words, to be avenged; and Turnell, on coming to anchor, reluctantly enough, in the roadstead of Fayal, seemed not to be without uneasiness on this score. He, nevertheless, had confidence enough in the virtue of these religious, to ask them to permit him to keep them concealed when his vessel was visited, and they consented with good grace. The visit over, the English captain had liberty to buy all that he needed, after which he again weighed anchor, and the rest of his voyage was fortunate.[1] But he found himself in a new embarrassment on arriving in England: he had no commission, and although he represented that he had accidentally been separated from his commander, he was looked upon as a deserter from Virginia, and put in prison, from which he was released only on the testimony of the Jesuits.[2] After this time he was unwearied in publishing the virtue of the missionaries, twice his liberators, and especially the service they had done him at Fayal, where they returned good for evil as they so generously did, foregoing all the advantages which they might have obtained by making themselves known. Nothing, indeed, was omitted to compensate for them in England, where they were very kindly treated as long as they remained. At last Mr. de Biseau, French ambassador at the court of London, claimed them, and put them on their way to Calais.[3]

Noble conduct of the three Jesuits.

1614.

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[1] Biard in Carayon, xii. p. 113; Relation, pp. 57, 58.

[2] They arrived at Milford Haven in 1614. Biard, Relation, p. 59. Turnel was arrested, because his ship was evidently French. See also Biard in Carayon, xii., p. 114. Champlain, p 111; Bressani, Breve Relatione, p. 76.

[3] Biard, pp. 54–61; Champlain, pp. 109–12. Biard (Carayon, p. 115) says that he was nearly nine months a prisoner on shipboard, often on short allowance. Father Peter Biard was a native of Grenoble, and esteemed a learned theologian. He reached France apparently in May, 1614, and died at Avignon, Nov. 17, 1622, while a chaplain to the army. Jouvency, Historia Societatis Jesu (Rome, 1710), p. 324, where an account of his labors is given. His letter of January 31, 1612, is in the Litteræ Annuæ, 1612 (Lyons, 1619), pp. 563–605.

Meanwhile great excitement prevailed at the French court in regard to the English operations against St. Savior's and Port Royal; but as at bottom this affair concerned only private individuals, the first excitement soon subsided. Mr. de Poutrincourt was not sufficiently in favor, to flatter himself that his interests would be warmly espoused, and took no steps. Madame de Guercheville contented herself with sending la Saussaye to London, to ask reparation of the injury done her in violation of the right of nations, and restitution of her property; but she obtained only a part of what she claimed, and had to put up with it.[1] She then saw, when too late, her error in not following the advice of Mr. de Champlain, who throws the blame in part on Father Cotton, without whose advice, the marchioness, it is said, did nothing.[2] But although Champlain guarantied the good intentions of Mr. de Monts, would it have been very safe to confide to a Calvinist the direction of a colony, the chief object of which was to preach the gospel to the nations of Canada? 1614.

In fact they were all in fault;—some from over distrust; others from eagerness to get back at once more than they advanced; some from want of experience; others from not taking time to study the country. Mr. de Monts wished to derive from his monopoly certain and actual funds to meet the expenses of his colony: and without a monopoly he might have had enough by trade, had he begun by settling in a secure place, where he was within reach of succor from France. Mr. de Poutrincourt having acquired the domain of Port Royal, had no better task than to sow ground enough to secure his people from being in want of necessaries; and had he been in his fort

[1] Biard, p. 61; Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1632), p. 112. See characteristic proceedings of English Privy Council (Jan. 2, 23, 1613), in N. Y. Colonial Documents, iii., pp. 1, 2. Biard mentions that her ship, that was taken to England by Turnel, was restored.

[2] Champlain, Voyages (ed. 1632), p. 112.

1614. with thirty well-armed men, Argall would never have had the hardihood to attack him. The Sieur de la Saussaye, after taking possession of Port de la Haive, should have gone no further: he would never have been attacked by the English there, for the English intended only to carry on the fishery at Mount Desert Island,[1] and were not in force to get involved in Acadia, where they must have supposed the French on their guard; moreover, they did not know Port de la Haive, the entrance to which is easily defended. Madame de Guercheville, on her side, erred in not intrusting her enterprise to some one already acquainted with the country; and it is inconceivable how two missionaries, who had already spent two years there, did not suggest all this to la Saussaye, who was disposed, and doubtless had orders, to follow their advice. What is more astonishing is, that all who in the sequel undertook to settle in these southern provinces, failed by committing precisely the same errors, and neglecting to prepare properly.

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[1] The English had already, to Biard's knowledge, seized French vessels near there (Biard in Carayon, Documents Inédits, xii., p. 6); and the choice of the spot for a settlement seems mad. Parkman, in his recent work, is not favorable to Biard and his colony; but Bancroft (i., p. 149) does not spare his censure on Argall, characterizing his conduct as worthy only of marauders and pirates.

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